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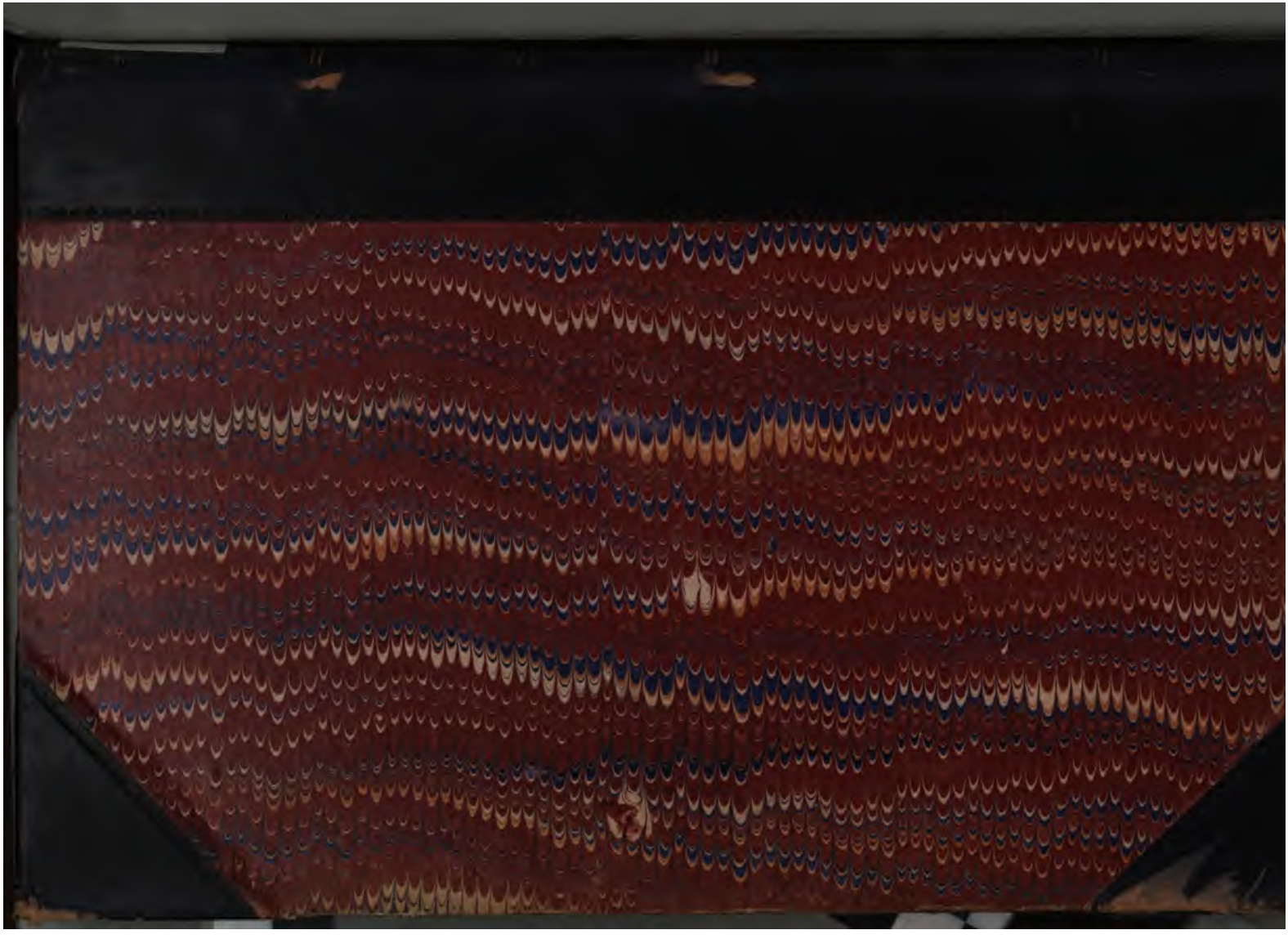

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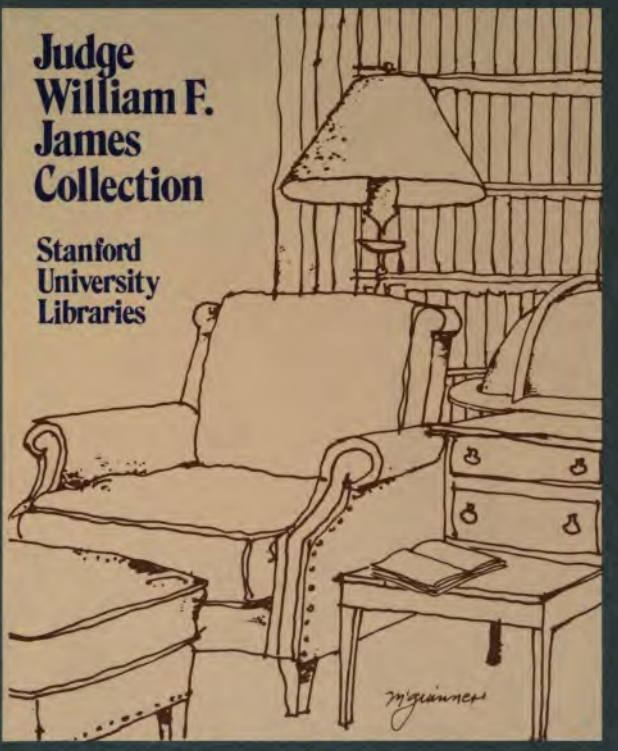

SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

AND THE

ADJOINING COUNTRIES,

FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

By THOMAS JOHNES.

Who so shall telle a tale after a man,
He moste reherse, as neighe as ever he can,
Everich worde, if it be in his charge,
All speke he never so rudely and so large;
Or elles he moste tellen his tale untrewe
Or feinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. I.

SIR WALTER DE PASSAC AND SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC ADVISE THE KING OF CASTILLE NOT TO RISK A BATTLE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.—A PARTY OF THE ENGLISH SKIRMISH WITH THE GARRISON OF VILALPANDO.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS DISPIRITED BY HIS OWN ILL HEALTH AND THE GREAT SICKNESS OF HIS ARMY.

THE king of Caſtille, on hearing that the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster were faſt approaching with ſo great a force, was much alarmed, and ſent for ſir Walter de Paſſac and ſir William de Lignac, to whom he ſaid,—'I am exceedingly ſurpriſed that the duke of Bourbon is not arrived. Our enemies have taken the field, and, if no one oppoſe them, will deſtroy my whole country. My ſubjects are very diſcontented that we do not offer them combat. Tell me, my fair ſirs, how I had best act.'

Theſe two lords, who, from great experience, knew more of arms than the king, and for this had they been ſent from France to Caſtille, re-

plied,—'Sir king, depend upon it, the duke of Bourbon will come. On his arrival, we will conſider what is to be done; but, until then, do not make any preparations to meet your enemies. Let them make what excurſions they pleaſe: they keep the field, and we the towns and caſtles, which are well provided with every thing, and garrisoned by good men at arms. They are ſuffering from the heat of the ſun and weather, while we enjoy the ſhade and refreſhing breezes. They have found the country waſted, and the further they advance they will have ſo much the greater ſcarcity of forage. It was for the chance of their entering your country, that all the ſmall forts have been demolished, wherein the farmers intended placing their wealth. This was, ſir king, wiſely done; for they would by their means have been enabled to keep poſſeſsion of thoſe parts where they now are; but at present they can find nothing but what they have brought with them, except the great heat of a burning ſun, which you may be aſſured muſt ſoon deſtroy them. Though all your towns and caſtles are well provided and garriſoned, we can believe that ſome may be attacked and won, for that is the delight of men at arms. In ſuch way they love to paſs their time, and for this do they ſeek adventures through the world. Do not, therefore, be any way caſt down; for in this buſineſs, we engage, you ſhall not ſuffer any great loſs.'

This ſpeech greatly comforted the king of Caſtille, and he was well pleaſed with them, for he felt that what they had ſaid was truth.

We

We will return to the duke of Lancaſter and the king of Portugal, who, though they kept the field, would have willingly gained ſome town to refreſh themſelves; for the foragers could not find any thing, and were forced to unite in large bodies for fear of ambuſcades. They were ſo hard preſſed, that when, in their excurſions, they ſaw at a diſtance a large village, they were rejoiced, and cried out, 'Come quick: let us haſten to that village, where we ſhall find enough to forage and to enrich ourſelves.' They haſtened their march; but, when they arrived, they found only the bare walls: there were neither inhabitants, nor even a dog, nor fowl, ſo completely had the French ruined this part of the country. They thus loſt their time and expectations, and returned to their lords empty handed. Their horſes were in ſorry condition from the want of proper food, and they were fortunate whenever they could meet with any green paſtures. Some were ſo feeble they could not advance, and dropt dead on the road, through famine and heat. Their maſters were not in a much better condition, from fevers cauſed by the oppreſſive heat in the day, and the chill of the nights, without having any thing proper to refreſh or recover themſelves. Thus was it in the duke's army; for the Engliſh have a weaker conſtitution than the Portuguese, who bore all theſe difficulties without hurt, being hardy and accuſtomed to the climate of Caſtille. In this melancholy ſtate were the Engliſh: many died of their diſorders, more eſpecially ſuch as were

not well attended, and had not wherewithal to provide proper remedies.

Sir Richard Burley, ſir Thomas Percy, the lord Fitzwalter, ſir Maubrun de Linieres, ſir John d'Ambreticourt, Thierry and William de Soumain, with two hundred lances of ſuch as were deſirous to ſeek renown, mounted the beſt horſes in the army, with the intent to ſurpriſe the French garriſon in Vilalpando. They had heard that ſir Oliver du Gueſclin, conſtable of Caſtille, had with him there, in garriſon, ſome of the ableſt knights of France. They left the army one morning, after drinking a cup, equipped like foragers, and came to a ſmall brook that runs below Vilalpando, which they croſſed by ſpurring their horſes over it. The alarm was ſoon ſpread through the town, that the Engliſh were at the barriers. You would have ſeen, had you been there when this was known, knights arming themſelves haſtily, and advancing towards the lodgings of the conſtable, ſervants ſaddling horſes and hurrying with them to their maſters.

Sir Oliver du Gueſclin would have reſtrained his companions from ſallying forth to meet the Engliſh, had he been able; but their courage was too impetuous, ſo out they ſallied, gallantly mounted on horſes that had been inactive and well fed. Among the firſt were, ſir John des Barres, the viſcount de Beſliere, ſir Robert and ſir John de Braquemont, ſir Peter de Villaines, ſir Triſtan de la Jaille.

When the Engliſh had made their courſe before

fore the town, they repaſſed the brook in the ſame manner as before, and retreated to a large ſand bank, when they drew up in handſome array, about three bow-ſhots diſtant from the brook. The French knights advanced, ſhouting their cries, with their ſpears in their reſts; and, when near, the Engliſh being prepared, ſtuck ſpurs into their horſes to meet them. The ſhock was very great; and ſeveral of each ſide were unhorſed on the ſand. This would not have ended ſo ſpeedily, and other weapons would have been reſorted to when the lances failed; but the duſt, from the movements of the horſes, was ſo great and diſagreeable, they could not know each other: their horſes were covered with duſt as well as themſelves; and it was in ſuch clouds that they could not breathe without ſwallowing large mouthfuls. This cauſed the attack to ceaſe, and the French and Engliſh to withdraw from the combat: the firſt returned to Vilalpando. There was not any one ſlain, nor much hurt, on either ſide.

The Engliſh knights went not more than one league beyond Vilalpando before they returned to their army, when they diſarmed themſelves; for they were ſeized with fevers and other diſorders, which brought them to death's door.

The duke of Lancaſter was greatly diſpirited, and knew not how to act; for he ſaw his army daily waſting away, and was grieved to find that the greater and better part were confined to their beds. He himſelf was ſo unwell, that if he had not been afraid to diſhearten his men, he would *gladly have* kept his chamber. He addreſſed

dreſſed himſelf to the king of Portugal, and deſired him to ſay what, in the preſent circumſtances, ſhould be done; for he was much alarmed at this mortality in his army.

The king replied; 'That, from appearances, it did not ſeem probable the Caſtillians would offer them combat at this ſeaſon; for they ſhewed more inclination that they ſhould waſte themſelves and their proviſion.' 'How then would you adviſe me to act?' aſked the duke. 'I will tell you,' anſwered the king: 'as the weather is now ſo exceedingly hot, I would adviſe that you march your army into Galicia, and give your men permiſſion to recruit themſelves wherever they pleaſe; but to return prepared to recommence the campaign in March or April. Endeavour to procure large reinforcements from England, under the command of one of your brothers, and proviſion in plenty for the winter ſeaſon. A kingdom is not ſoon conquered, nor a climate inſtantly rendered agreeable to the conſtitutions of ſtrangers. Your army will be quartered in the different towns now under your obedience, and will paſs their time as well as they can.'

'This may be right,' ſaid the duke; 'but the conſequences will be, that as ſoon as our enemies ſhall know we have ſeparated, and are acquainted that you are retired to Portugal with your army, and I with mine to St. Jago or Corunna, they will take the field; for I have heard that the king of Caſtille has four thouſand lances, French and Bretons, and he will collect as many, or more, in his own country. Add to

this,

this, that the duke of Bourbon is on his march with two thouſand men at arms, and will be eager to ſignalize himſelf on his arrival. Now, conſider, ſhould all this force enter Galicia, what is there to oppoſe it? Before we can collect our men and form a junction, they will have done us conſiderable damage.'

'Well, then,' replied the king of Portugal, 'in the name of God, let us keep the field: my men are freſh and unhurt, and equally willing with myſelf to abide the event.' The conference now broke up; and it was reſolved they would wait the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, to ſee if, when he had joined the Caſtillians, they would offer them battle. The Engliſh and Portugueſe deſired nothing more eagerly; for the ſeaſon was paſſing, and the heat increaſing: it was about St. John's day, when the ſun is at its height, and intolerably hot, eſpecially in Caſtille, Granada, and countries far to the ſouth. There had not fallen any rain nor dew ſince the beginning of April, ſo that the whole country was burnt up. The Engliſh ate plentifully of grapes wherever they found them; and, to quench their thirſt, drank of the ſtrong wines of Caſtille and Portugal: but the more they drank the more they were heated; for this new beverage inflamed their livers, lungs and bowels, and was in its effect totally different from their uſual liquors. The Engliſh, when at home, feed on freſh meats and good rich ale, which is a diet to keep their bodies wholeſome; but now they were forced to drink hard and hot wines, of which they were not ſparing, to drown their cares. The early

part

part of the night is warm, from the great heat of the day, but, toward ſun-riſe, it is very cold, which afflicted them ſorely; for they ſlept without covering, and quite naked, from the heat of the weather, and the wine, ſo that when morning came they were chilled by the change of air, which checked all perſpiration, and flung them into fevers and fluxes, ſo as to carry them off inſtantly to their graves. Thus died very many of the barons and knights, as well as of the lower ranks; for theſe diſorders ſpared none.

CHAP. II.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DISBANDS HIS ARMY.—THREE ENGLISH KNIGHTS, HAVING OBTAINED PASSPORTS, WAIT ON THE KING OF CASTILLE, TO NEGOTIATE A RETREAT FOR THE MEN AT ARMS THROUGH HIS KINGDOM.

GOOD or evil fortune depends upon a trifle. You may readily believe that the duke of Lancaſter, having gained a footing in Caſtille, would never have loſt, by any defeat in battle, ſuch numbers as he was now daily doing by ſickneſs. He himſelf was almoſt dead of the peſtilence I have mentioned. Sir John Holland, conſtable of the army, ſaw, with great concern, the miſerable ſituation it was in from this diſorder, from which ſcarcely one eſcaped; and was forced, daily, to hear the complaints of high and low, in ſuch terms as theſe,—'Ah, my lord of Lancaſter, why have you brought us to Caſtille?

ſtille? Accurſed be the expedition. He does not, probably, wiſh that any Engliſhman ſhould ever again quit his country to ſerve him. He ſeems reſolved to kick againſt the pricks. He will have his men guard the country he has conquered; but when they ſhall all be dead, who will then guard it? He ſhews but poor knowledge of war; for, when he ſaw that no one came to oppoſe him, why did he not make an opportune retreat into Portugal or elſewhere, to avoid the loſſes he muſt now ſuffer; for we ſhall all die of the confounded diſorder, and without having ſtruck a blow.'

Sir John Holland was much hurt on hearing ſuch language, for the honour of the duke, whoſe daughter he had married; and, as it was increaſing, he determined to remonſtrate with him on their ſituation, which he could, from his connection, more freely do than any other. He therefore addreſſed him,—'My lord, you muſt immediately alter your plans, for your army is wholly laid up with ſickneſs. If any attack ſhould be now made on you, you could not draw any ſervice from it; for the men are all worn down and diſcontented, and their horſes dead. But high and low are ſo diſcouraged by this diſorder, that I repeat, you muſt not expect any ſervice from them.' 'What can I do?' replied the duke: 'I wiſh to have ſuch advice as is reaſonable.' 'My lord,' ſaid Sir John Holland, 'I think you had beſt give permiſſion for your men to retire whitherſoever they pleaſe; and I would adviſe that you yourſelf go to Portugal, or re-

turn

turn to Galicia, for you are not in a ſtate to undergo hardſhips.' 'That is well conſidered,' anſwered the duke: 'I conſent to what you propoſe; and you may give our men notice, that I permit them to go into Caſtille, France, or wherever elſe they may chooſe, ſo they enter not into any treaty with our enemies; for I clearly ſee this campaign is over. Let them be fully paid for their ſervices as far as our treaſury can go, and alſo for the expenſes of their journey, and then make our chancellor deliver them their diſcharge.'

The conſtable replied, that he would ſee this done. He ordered the intentions of the duke to be ſignified throughout the army by ſound of trumpet, and gave notice to the captains to come to him with their accounts, when they would be ſettled and paid, to their ſatisfaction. This order was agreeable to all, particularly to thoſe who hoped change of air would reſtore them to health. The barons and knights held a council how they were to return to England: by ſea it was impoſſible, for they had no veſſels, and were at a diſtance from any ſea-port. They were beſides ſo emaciated and weak, from the fevers and fluxes, that they would have been unable to bear a ſea voyage. Having conſidered the matter well, they found they had no other choice than through France; but ſome ſaid,—'How can we go thither? we have enemies in all the countries we muſt paſs. Firſt, there is Caſtille: we are now carrying on a de-

re war againſt it; then Navarre and Arra-

gon.

gon. Theſe two kingdoms are allied, the one to Caſtille, and the other to France. Arragon has already ſhewed its ſpite, for the ſénéſchal of Bourdeaux informs us, that ſince our arrival in this country, he has thrown the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux into priſon at Barcelona, who had gone thither to demand from the king the arrears that are due to England. Should we ſend to aſk paſſports from France, the journey would take up too much time; and, when our meſſenger ſhould be arrived, we have little hopes that the king, who is young, or his council, would grant them; for the conſtable of France, ſir Oliver de Cliſſon, hates us mortally, and this is increaſed by his imagining his enemy, the duke of Brittany, intends turning to England.' Others, who were farther ſighted and of more ſenſe, ſaid,—'Let all doubts be laid aſide. The beſt thing we can do is to try the king of Caſtille, who may perhaps not only allow us to paſs peaceably through his country, but alſo obtain for us the ſame permiſſion from Arragon, France and Navarre.'

This meaſure was adopted, and a herald, called Derby, ſent for, to whom were given letters addreſſed to the king of Caſtille. The herald ſet off, and followed the road to Medina del Campo, where the king then reſided. When in his preſence, he caſt himſelf on his knees and preſented his letters, which were written in French. When the king had read them, and underſtood their meaning, he ſmiled, and, turning to a knight who was the ſteward of his houſehold, ſaid,—'Take *care of this* herald; he ſhall have his

anſwer

anſwer to-night, that he may return early to-morrow morning.'

The king entered his cloſet, and ſent for ſir Walter de Paſſac and ſir William de Lignac, to whom he ſhewed the letters, and asked what anſwer he ſhould ſend. The ſubſtance of theſe letters was, in a few words, as follows. Sir John Holland, conſtable of the Engliſh army, deſired the king of Caſtille to ſend paſſports for three knights to come to him and return, that they might have a conference with him.

The two knights replied,—'It will, my lord, be right that you grant theſe paſſports, for then you will know what it is they want.' 'I agree to it,' ſaid the king, and inſtantly ordered a paſſport to be drawn out for the coming and return of ſix knights, if it were agreeable to the conſtable, with their attendants. When this was ſealed with the great ſeal, and with the king's ſignet, it was given to the herald, and twenty francs with it: having received the whole, he returned to the duke of Lancaſter and the conſtable at Orenſe.

The herald gave the conſtable the paſſport, who appointed ſir Maubrun de Linieres, ſir Thomas Moreaux, and ſir John d'Ambreticourt, ambaſſadors to the king of Caſtille. They ſet off as ſoon as poſſible, for there was much want of phyſicians and medicines, as well as of freſh meat for the numerous ſick who were ſcattered in different parts. Theſe ambaſſadors paſſed through Vilalpando, where ſir Oliver du Gueſclin received them handſomely, and entertained them at ſupper. On the morrow, one of the knights called Tintemach, a Breton, was their conductor,

conductor, to ſecure them againſt the numerous parties of Bretons which were abroad.

They arrived ſafely at Medina del Campo, where they found the king impatient to know what had brought them thither. When they had refreſhed and dreſſed themſelves at an hôtel that had been prepared for them, they were conducted by ſome knights of the houſehold to the preſence of the king, who apparently received them with pleaſure. They preſented him letters from the conſtable, but from none elſe; for the duke of Lancaſter excuſed himſelf, and would not at this time, nor on ſuch a ſubject, write to him.

The knights and ſquires of France were not preſent at this interview, although they were of the king's privy council, and nothing was done reſpecting the war without their conſent. The ambaſſadors addreſſed the king, ſaying; 'Sir king, we are come hither on the part of the conſtable of the army the duke of Lancaſter has brought from England. But unfortunately very great ſickneſſes and mortality have befallen it: the conſtable therefore entreats, that you would have the goodneſs to open your country and towns to ſuch as may deſire to try change of air for the recovery of their health, if it may be recovered, and to enter your towns to recruit their ſtrength; and if ſome ſhould wiſh to return to England by land, he begs you would interest yourſelf with the kings of France and Navarre, that they may, at their own costs, freely paſs through their territories, in their way home. This is the ſole object of our miſſion, and the request we have to make you.'

The king very graciouſly replied, 'We will conſider what will be proper for us to do, and give you our anſwer.' The knights replied, they were ſatisfied.

CHAP. III.

THE ENGLISH AMBASSADORS OBTAIN PASSPORTS FROM THE KING FOR THEIR SICK TO PASS IN SAFETY THROUGH CASTILLE, OR TO REMAIN THERE, TO RECOVER THEIR HEALTH.—MANY KNIGHTS AND SQUIRES DIE IN CASTILLE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DANGEROUSLY ILL AT SANT JAGO.

THE Engliſh knights, on taking leave of the king, went to their lodgings, where they remained until the third day, when they returned to the palace. The king of Caſtille was much rejoiced at their requeſt; for he ſaw there would be an end of the war for a long time, when his enemies ſolicited leave to march peaceably through his kingdom. He was determined what anſwer to make, though his council had adviſed otherwiſe; and, wiſhing to pay due honour to the French knights, he ſent for ſir Walter de Paſſac and ſir William de Lignac. Having explained to them the object of the Engliſh knights' embaſſy, and the requeſt of the conſtable, he demanded

manded from them how he ſhould act; and deſired ſir Walter to give him his opinion.

Sir Walter was unwilling to ſpeak before the members of the council; but, as the king would have it ſo, he ſaid,—'Sir, matters are come to the concluſion we always foretold, that your enemies would be worn down and deſtroyed, without ſtriking a blow. Since their ſick ſo humbly ask aſſiſtance and comfort in your country, you ſhould grant their requeſt; but on condition that, if they recover, they do not return to the duke of Lancaſter or to the king of Portugal, but continue their road ſtraight homeward, and that they engage not to bear arms againſt you, nor the realm of Caſtille, for the term of ſix years. We alſo hope you may be ſucceſsful in obtaining leave for them to paſs with ſafety through Navarre and France.'

The king was well contented with this advice, for it was what he was inclined to; and he was indifferent what terms were made, ſo that he got rid of the Engliſh. He replied to ſir Walter; 'You have loyally counſelled me, and I thank you: it ſhall be done as you propoſe.'

The Engliſh knights were ſent for, and conducted into the preſence chamber, where were the king and his whole council. The biſhop of Burgos, as chancellor, and a great orator, thus addreſſed them; 'Ye knights of England, attached to the duke of Lancaſter, who have been ſent hither by his conſtable, liſten to the anſwer the king gives to your requeſts. Out of his great

great pity and goodneſs, he is deſirous of doing to his enemies all the kindneſs in his power. On your return to the conſtable, you will tell him from the king of Caſtille, that he may publiſh, by ſound of trumpet, throughout his army, that this country is open and ready to receive ſick or well, all knights, ſquires, and their attendants, who may be deſirous of coming hither, on condition that, at the gates of whatever city or town they may wiſh to enter, they there lay aſide their armour and arms, when they will be conducted, by thoſe ordered for the purpoſe, to hôtels prepared for them. They will then have their names written down and delivered to the governor, in order that thoſe who may have reſided in any towns may not, on any pretext whatever, return to Galicia or Portugal, but quit the country as ſoon as may be. In addition, the king of Caſtille engages to obtain a ſafe paſſage for ſuch as may intend to go to Calais, or any other ſea-port they may chooſe, in Brittany, Saintonge, Normandy or Picardy, through the kingdoms of France and Navarre. It is the king's command, that thoſe knights and ſquires, of whatever nation they be, who ſhall undertake this journey, do not bear arms againſt the kingdom of Caſtille, under any pretence, for the ſpace of ſix years: this they will ſolemnly ſwear to obſerve at the time the paſſports are delivered to them. You will carry with you all theſe conditions, fairly written, to the conſtable, and to your companions who have ſent you hither.'

The

The knights thanked the king and his council for the anſwer they had received, but added, 'they would not ſay that all the conditions ſhould be accepted: if they were not, they would ſend back their herald; and, ſhould he not return, they might conclude the whole were accepted.' 'We are ſatisfied,' replied the council.

The king withdrew to his cloſet; but ſir Walter de Paſſac and ſir William de Lignac remained with the knights, and conducted them to a handſome apartment where a dinner was provided for them. They all dined together: when dinner was over, they partook of wines and ſpices in the king's cloſet, and then took their leave, as their paſſes were ready for them. On their return to their hotel, they inſtantly mounted their horſes; for the king's harbingers had ſupplied them with all things at his expenſe, and, leaving Medina, they rode to Villeclope, where they lay that night. On the morrow, they dined at Vilalpando, and lay at Noya. The next day they came to Orenſe, where they found the conſtable. During the time they had been on this embaſſy, the lord Fitzwalter*, one of the greateſt barons in the duke's army, had died: he was a valiant

* Lord Fitzwalter. See Dugdale, who mentions his gallantry in the attack on the block-houſe, before Breſt, but omits taking notice of his death in Spain. Indeed he only

valiant knight, and much lamented; but none can ſtrive againſt death. His obſequies were very honourably performed, and the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaſter attended them.

The three knights waited on the duke, to ſhew him their papers, and relate what they had ſeen and heard Some ſaid, the conditions were hard; but others denied it, and ſaid they were courteous enough, conſidering the ſituation and danger they were in. It was known in the army, that the duke would diſcharge all who deſired it, and that they might enter Caſtille with ſafety. Thoſe who were ill, or feeble, and wiſhed to change the air, took leave of the duke and conſtable, and left the army as ſoon as they were able, but, before their departure, many received their whole pay in hard money, others had ſufficient ſecurity for it, ſo that they were all well contented. Some went to Vilalpando, others to Ruelles, to Noya, to Medina del Campo, to Caleforis or to St. Phagon. They were every where well received, and had lodgings found them, and had their names written down and given to the different governors in the manner I have mentioned.

The greater part of the nobility went to Vilalpando, becauſe it was garriſoned by foreigners,

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ſays, that—'he departed this life the year enſuing (10th Richard II.) on a Wedneſday preceding the feaſt of St. Michael.'

This does not tally with the ſeaſon of the year when the heats are ſo great in Spain.

Bretons,

Bretons, French, Normans and Poitevins, under the command of ſir Oliver du Gueſclin. The Engliſh had more confidence in thoſe I have named, and with reaſon, than in the Caſtillians.

Thus was the expedition of the duke of Lancaſter put an end to, and every one ſought the beſt he could for himſelf. You may ſuppoſe this was a bitter diſappointment to the duke, for he ſaw all his ambitious expectations annihilated: he bore, however, his misfortune like a gallant prince as he was, for he perceived he could not any way amend it.

The king of Portugal, finding the buſineſs was over, diſmiſſed his army, retaining only three hundred ſpears, and left Orenſe, with the duke of Lancaſter, who returned with his ducheſs to Sant Jago de Compoſtella.

The king remained there with them four days: on the fifth he departed, with all who had accompanied him, for Oporto, where his queen reſided.

I muſt now relate what befel many of thoſe knights and ſquires who, on leaving the duke, had retired into Caſtille, and were lodged in different towns. Thoſe who had been afflicted with the diſorder, notwithſtanding they had changed the air and medicines, could never recover, and ſeveral died in Vilalpando. Many barons and knights of England died in their beds, to the great loſs of their country, while the king of Caſtille was obtaining for them paſſports to travel through Navarre and France; but the diſtance, and other obſtacles, delayed the accompliſhment.

Three great and powerful barons died at Villalpando; ſir Richard Burley, who had been chief marſhal of the army, the lord Poinings*, and ſir Henry Percy, couſin-german to the earl of Northumberland. Sir Maubrun de Linieres died at Noya: he was a valiant and able knight from Poitou. Lord Talbot†, a great baron in Wales, died at Ruelles: and of this peſtilence there died, in different places, twelve potent barons, full eighty knights, and two hundred ſquires, all gentlemen. Conſider what an unfortunate loſs this was, and to be ſuſtained without having a battle or ſtriking a blow. Of archers and other men, upwards of five hundred died; and I was told by an Engliſh knight with whom I converſed, on his return through France, whoſe name was ſir Thomas Queenſbury, that of fifteen hundred men at arms and about four thouſand archers whom the duke of Lancaſter had brought with him from England, not one half ever returned home.

The duke of Lancaſter fell dangerouſly ſick, and became very low ſpirited, at Sant Jago. He was ſo ill, that it was frequently reported through Caſtille and France that he was dead: indeed, he very narrowly eſcaped. Thierry de Soumain, who was of great valour and ſquire of the body to the duke, was attacked by this diſorder, and died at Betancos. He was born in Hainault, and his death was much bewailed. His brother William continually attended him

* Lord Poinings. See Dugdale.

† This muſt be a miſtake, for lord Talbot did not die until 20th Richard II.—Dugdale.

during

during his illneſs, by which he ran great risk of his life. You muſt know, that there were none ſo bold, ſo rich or ſo fair, but were afraid, and were daily expecting death. The diſorder ſolely attacked the duke's army, for the French were no way affected. This cauſed great murmurings among them and the Caſtillians: they ſaid, 'The king allows theſe Engliſh to recruit themſelves in his towns, which may coſt us dear by their bringing the diſorder among us,' But others replied, 'They are Chriſtians like ourſelves, and we ought to have compaſſion on each other.' True it is, that at this period a French knight died in Caſtille, who was greatly lamented; for he was courteous, gallant and bold in arms: his name was ſir John de Roye, and he was brother-german to ſir Triſtan, ſir Reginald and ſir Lancelot de Roye. I will relate the cauſe of his death. While in garriſon in a town of Caſtille, called Segbonne, he had an impoſthume in his body. Being young and luſty, he paid no attention to it, and one day mounting his courſer, in galloping him over the plains, this impoſthume broke. On his return, he was laid on the bed, and all ſeemed well, but on the fourth day he died. There were very great lamentations made after him by all his friends: he was deſerving of them for his amiable character and gallantry in arms.

CHAP. IV.

SIR JOHN HOLLAND TAKES LEAVE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, AND RETURNS WITH HIS LADY, THROUGH CASTILLE, NAVARRE AND BAYONNE, TO BORDEAUX.—SIR JOHN D'AMBRETICOURT GOES TO PARIS, TO ACCOMPLISH A DEED OF ARMS WITH THE LORD BOUCICAUT.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſorder was ſo very infectious that the greater part of the Engliſh fled from it, ſir John Holland and ſeveral knights and ſquires remained with the duke. The knights, ſeeing there was an end to the war, were impatient to change the air, and ſaid to the conſtable,—'Sir, permit us to ſet out on our return to Bayonne or Bordeaux, to eſcape the effect of this peſtilence, for our lord of Lancaſter deſires it. When he ſhall wiſh to have our ſervices, he can eaſily ſo do by writing his commands; and we ſhall ſerve him more effectually when we have recovered our health, than in the ſtate of languor we now fatally experience.' They repeated this ſo often that ſir John Holland told the duke of their diſcontents. The duke anſwered,—'Sir John, I am willing that you and ſuch knights as chooſe, ſet out on your return home, and that you take all our people with you. Recommend me to my lord the king, and ſalute from me my brothers, and ſuch and ſuch perſons, whom he named.'

'I will cheerfully do ſo,' replied the conſtable; 'but my lord, are you aware, that though the

the council of Caſtille has handſomely allowed our ſick to enter any towns they may pleaſe for the recovery of their health, they muſt not, when well, return to you in Galicia, nor in Portugal? And if we paſs through France, in our road to Calais, the French knights of the council of Caſtille have conditioned that we do not arm againſt France for the ſpace of ſix years, unleſs the king of England command in perſon.'

'Sir John,' ſaid the duke, 'you muſt know that the French, whenever they have an opportunity, will take every advantage over us. But I will tell you how you ſhall act. You will paſs through Caſtille in a courteous manner, and, when you ſhall be on the frontiers of Navarre, ſend to the king: he is our couſin: formerly we were ſtrongly united, and the connection is not broken; for, ever ſince we bore arms for him in his war againſt our adverſary of Caſtille, we have conſtantly kept up a mutual correſpondence, like couſins and friends. We have never had any quarrel, nor have we, like the French, made war upon him. For theſe reaſons, he will readily grant permiſſion for you and your men to paſs through his country. On your arrival at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, take the road through Biſcay to Bayonne: that is our inheritance: and thence you may go to Bordeaux without any danger from the French, to refreſh yourſelves. When recovered, you may there embark, traverſe the deep, and land in Cornwall or Southampton, as the wind may be favourable.'

Sir John replied, he would punctually follow the plan he had laid down, and began to make his preparations accordingly. It was not long after this that the conſtable, with all the men at arms and others, took their departure; and the duke and ducheſs remained at Sant Jago, attended by their houſehold only. Sir John Holland carried his lady with him, and arrived at the city of Camores*, which is large and handſome, where he met the king of Caſtille, ſir Walter de Paſſac and ſir William de Lignac. They politely received him and his company, as lords do when they meet. In truth, the king was more rejoiced at the departure of the Engliſh than at their arrival; for it ſeemed clear to him that the war was completely at an end, and that the duke of Lancaſter would never be able to bring again ſo large a force to Caſtille from England, for he was well informed how much that country was diſunited within itſelf.

When the Engliſh, who had retired to the towns in Caſtille for the recovery of their healths, heard that ſir John Holland was on his march with the remnant of the army homeward, they were greatly rejoiced, and made inſtant preparations to join him. Among the number were, the lord de Chameaux†, ſir Thomas Percy, the lord de Leluyton‡ and the lord Bradeſtan, with many more, to the amount of a thouſand horſe. Thoſe that were ſick

* Camores. Q. † Lord de Chameaux. Q. Camois. ‡ Lord Leluyton. Q.

looked

looked on themſelves as half recovered the moment their hopes were raiſed of returning to England, ſo much had they of late ſuffered.

When ſir John Holland took leave of the king of Caſtille, he ſhewed to him and his barons much affection, and gallantly preſented them with handſome mules: he likewiſe ordered all the expenſes of their journey to be defrayed.

On their departure, they took the road to St. Phagon, where they reſted three days: they were well received in all places they paſſed; for they were accompanied by ſome knights of the king's houſehold, who paid for whatever they wanted or wiſhed. They continued their route until they were out of Caſtille, and arrived at Najara, where the famous battle had been fought, then they proceeded to Pamiers* and Logrogno, where they halted; for they were uncertain if the king of Navarre would allow them to paſs through his kingdom.

They deputed to him two knights, whoſe names were ſir Peter Biſſet and ſir William Norwich, who found the king at Tudela. They had an interview with him, and managed ſo well, they obtained permiſſion to paſs, on paying for whatever they ſhould want. When the knights returned, they left Logrogno, for Pampeluna, and paſſed the Pyrenées at Roncevalles: they then quitted the road for Béarn, and took that through Biſcay, for Bayonne, where they arrived. Sir John Holland and his coun-

* Pamiers. Q.

teſs

teſs remained there a conſiderable time, but ſeveral of his countrymen continued their route to Bordeaux. Thus ended this expedition of the duke of Lancaſter.

It happened, during the moſt active part of the campaign in Caſtille, when knights and ſquires were eager after adventures and deeds of arms, that the lord Boucicaut had taken the field, and had ſent a herald to demand from ſir John d'Ambreticourt three courſes with ſpears on horſeback. Sir John had agreed to meet him, with the addition of three courſes with daggers, and the ſame with battle-axes, all on horſeback. Sir John, having ſo readily aſſented, ſought for him every where; but I know not for what reaſon he had not advanced to that part of the country. I do not, however, ſay, nor mean to ſay, that the lord Boucicaut was not equal to ſuch a challenge, nor even to one of more hardy adventure.

When ſir John d'Ambreticourt was at Bayonne, with ſir John Holland, he thought much on this challenge, which, having accepted, he conſidered himſelf bound to accompliſh; and that he could not honourably leave France without doing ſo, leſt the French might ſay he had returned to England diſhonourably. He conſulted his companions, but eſpecially ſir John Holland, how to act. He was adviſed to paſs through France, as he had a good paſſport, which the duke of Bourbon had obtained for him, and go to Paris in ſearch of the lord Boucicaut: he might hear of him on his road, or

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at Paris, and the matter would be ſettled to his honour.

This advice being agreeable to him, he departed, and took the road through the country of the Baſques, and came to Orthès in Béarn, where he found the count de Foix. The count received him handſomely, detained him ſome ſhort time, and, on his going away, preſented him with two hundred florins and a very fine horſe. Sir John d'Ambreticourt continued his road through Béarn, Bigorre, the Toulouſain and Carcaſſonois. He was accompanied by William de Soumain and other ſquires from Hainault, who were returning to their own country. On their arrival at Paris, he learnt that the king was at that moment in Normandy, and the lord Boucicaut, as they ſaid, in Arragon. Sir John to acquit himſelf honourably, waited on the principal barons of France that were then at Paris, and having ſtaid there eight days to amuſe himſelf, he continued his journey to Calais, and thoſe from Hainault went home. Thus were the different captains of the army of Caſtille ſeparated.

CHAP. V.

THE DUKE OF BOURBON, ON LEAVING AVIGNON, CONTINUES HIS MARCH TO BURGOS, WHERE HE MEETS THE KING OF CASTILLE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, BEING INFORMED OF THIS, ADDRESSES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON AFTER A SHORT STAY TAKES LEAVE OF THE KING OF CASTILLE, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE.

THE duke of Bourbon, who had been nominated commander in chief of the French in Caſtille, was duly informed of every thing that was paſſing; but, had he imagined the king of Caſtille had been ſo much preſſed, he would have haſtened his march: for he had taken a long time on his journey, and, beſide, had followed a round-about road. He went firſt to Avignon, to viſit the perſon who ſtiled himſelf pope Clement, where he ſtaid ſome time, then to Montpelier, where he halted five days, and as many at Bezieres and Carcaſſone; from thence he went to Narbonne and Perpignan, and entered Arragon; for he was deſirous of ſeeing the young king of Arragon and his couſin, the lady Jolante de Bar. The duke continued his journey to Barcelona, where he met the king and queen of Arragon, with a numerous body of earls and barons of the country, who had come thither to receive and feaſt him.

When he had been thus entertained for the

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ſpace of ſix days, he departed, and went to Valencia. It was there he firſt heard that the Engliſh army had retreated, and that ſir John Holland had led the greater part into Navarre; that there had been a great mortality among the Engliſh; and that his couſin, the duke of Lancaſter, lay dangerouſly ill at Sant Jago: the report was, that he was actually dead. Notwithſtanding this intelligence, which rendered his march uſeleſs, he continued advancing, and informed the king of Caſtille of his arrival, who was much rejoiced thereat, and appointed the city of Burgos for their place of meeting. The king ordered all things to be properly prepared in that city for his reception, and went thither; for many of the French, who were with him, were anxious to ſee the duke of Bourbon. The duke, having paſſed Valencia and Saragoſſa, entered Caſtille and came to Burgos. He was moſt kindly received by the king, barons and prelates of the realm. Sir Oliver du Gueſclin, conſtable of Caſtille, ſir William de Lignac, ſir Walter de Paſſac, ſir John des Barres, ſir John and ſir Reginald de Roye, and ſeveral knights of France, were preſent, who had left their garriſons to meet the duke of Bourbon. They had no longer any fears of the Engliſh or Portugueſe, for they had all retreated, and the Engliſh had already given up thoſe towns they had conquered in Galicia; for they knew that, as their army had left the country, they could not withſtand the power of France.

The news was carried to Galicia that the duke

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of Bourbon was arrived in Caſtille, with a large body of men at arms from France; and, as it was ſpoken of, this force was multiplied to more than double its number. The country, at firſt was alarmed, leſt the duke of Bourbon ſhould march thither to reconquer ſuch towns as had ſurrendered; and though the duke of Lancaſter was with them, and comforted them as much as he could, they could not get rid of their fears.

When the duke of Lancaſter heard his couſin, the duke of Bourbon, was with the king of Caſtille at Burgos, he inſtantly ſent to the king of Portugal, to entreat he would not diſband his army; for he knew not what the French might intend, now the country was in ſo defenceleſs a ſtate.

The king of Portugal, having diſmiſſed his army, was deſirous to oblige the duke, from the connection between them, and left Liſbon for Coimbra, whence he iſſued a ſummons, for all men at arms inſtantly to prepare themſelves and march to Oporto, to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Lancaſter, whoſe illneſs would not ſuffer him to take the field in perſon, although he was daily recovering his health.

The duke of Bourbon remained with the king of Caſtille at Burgos, where he received the greateſt honours from the king, the barons and lords of the realm. Many councils were held, as to what they ſhould now do: whether to enter Galicia or return to France. The king and his miniſters ſaw very clearly which was moſt to their advantage, and ſaid, when together, "Our country is ruined and waſted by the

the French; and although they have defended it againſt the Engliſh, we have paid dear enough. It will be but juſt we thank the duke of Bourbon for the trouble he has had in coming hither, and entreat him, through affection to us, to withdraw his men, for there was not now any appearance of war to detain them; that as for Galicia, they could invade and conquer that province themſelves, whenever they pleaſed, as it was a trifling matter.' The king's miniſters added; 'If we keep theſe men, they will expect pay, and, if that be not given to them, they will rob and plunder the country. There are, already, many diſcontents on this ſubject; and it behoves us to diſmiſs them in a handſome manner.'

This meaſure was adopted; for the king knew well that his kingdom could not be hurt, without his ſuffering from it. The archbiſhop of Burgos therefore, in the preſence of the king and many knights from France, propoſed the matter to the duke of Bourbon. The duke, as well as his knights, inſtantly agreed to it; for they moſt certainly preferred returning to France, which is a different country in all reſpects from Caſtille, and gave their orders accordingly.

The duke of Bourbon, though he came the last, was the first to return, and declared his intentions were, to paſs through Navarre, that his people might make preparations for ſo doing. On taking his leave of the king, very rich preſents were made him: he might have had

more,

more, had he choſen it, but he refuſed ſeveral that were preſſed on him, and accepted only mules, horſes, and dogs called Allans * in Caſtille.

Proclamation was made for all perſons to leave Caſtille and return to France, according to the orders which had been given by the commander in chief; but ſir Oliver du Gueſclin and the marſhal, with about three hundred lances, Bretons, Poitevins and Saintongers, were to remain behind. The duke of Bourbon, having taken leave of the king, queen, and barons, was eſcorted as far as Logrogno, when he entered Navarre. Wherever he paſſed, he was moſt honourably received, for the duke was courteous, gallant and much renowned.

The king of Navarre entertained him very kindly, and ſhewed not any appearance of the hatred he bore to the king of France for having ſeized his inheritance of the county d'Evreux in Normandy. He knew that the preſent king, who was ſo nearly related to the duke of Bourbon, was no way to blame, for at the time he was an infant. He mentioned his complaints in an amicable manner to the duke, and entreated him to mediate between him and his couſin of France, for which he ſhould hold

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* 'Allan,—a kind of big, ſtrong, thick-headed and ſhort-ſnouted dog; the brood whereof came firſt out of Albania, old Epirus.'

'Allan de boucherie, like a maſtiff,—Allan gentil, ſomewhat like a greyhound,—Allan ſautre, a cur to bait wolves, &c.'—COTGRAVE's DICTIONARY.

himſelf

himſelf much obliged. The duke promiſed to uſe his endeavours; and on this they parted, and the duke continued his journey with his men at arms peaceably through Navarre, and, having croſſed the mountains at Ronceſvalles and traverſed the country of Baſques, entered Bearn at Sanveterre.

CHAP. VI.

THE COUNT DE FOIX RECEIVES THE DUKE OF BOURBON MOST MAGNIFICENTLY, AND MAKES HIM HANDSOME PRESENTS.—THE MEN AT ARMS WHO WERE UNDER SIR WALTER DE PASSAC AND SIR WILLIAM DE LIGNAC SACK THE TOWN OF ST. PHAGON, ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM CASTILLE.—THE KING IS VERY WROTH FOR THIS AGAINST THE TWO CAPTAINS, WHO HAD REMAINED WITH HIM.

COUNT Gaſton de Foix was well pleaſed, on hearing the duke of Bourbon was at Sauveterre. He ſummoned to Orthès, where he reſided, a gallant company of chivalry, and ſet out with a grand array of five hundred knights and ſquires excellently mounted. They had advanced two leagues before they met the duke, who was likewiſe attended by a large company of knights and ſquires. On their meeting, they embraced and ſhewed every token of friendſhip, ſuch as well-educated princes know how to do.

After they had converſed together a ſhort ſpace, as I was informed when at Orthès, the count de Foix withdrew with his company into the plain, but the duke remained where they had met. Then three knights, ſir Eſpaign de Lyon, ſir Peter Campeſtan and ſir Menault de Nouailles advanced to the duke, and ſaid,—'My lord, we come to offer you a preſent from the count de Foix on your return from Caſtille, as he knows you have been at a heavy expenſe. He firſt welcomes you to his country of Béarn, and preſents you with eight thouſand florins, this mule, two courſers and two palfreys.' 'My fair firs,' replied the duke, 'I am very much obliged to the count de Foix. With regard to the florins, we cannot receive them; but as for the reſt we accept them with great pleaſure.' The florins were therefore returned, and the horſes and mule kept. Shortly afterward, the count placed himſelf beſide the duke, and conducted him, under his pennon, to Orthès, when he was lodged in the caſtle, and his attendants in the town.

The duke of Bourbon remained for three days at Orthès, magnificently entertained with dinners and ſuppers. The count de Foix ſhewed him good part of his ſtate, which would recommend him to ſuch a perſon as the duke of Bourbon. On the fourth day he took his leave and departed. The count made many preſents to the knights and ſquires attached to the duke, and to ſuch an extent that I was told this viſit of the duke of Bourbon coſt him ten thouſand francs.

The duke took his road to France by Montpelier,

pelier, the city of Puy, and county of Forêts, of which he was lord in right of his ducheſs. Though the duke of Bourbon had thus left Caſtille, the men at arms under ſir William de Lignac and ſir Walter de Paſſac were not impatient to do ſo. They were upwards of three thouſand ſpears and ſix thouſand others, who in ſmall parties were daily quitting the country. Many of them, having expended their pay, and being weary of the war, ſet out on their return ill mounted and in rags, ſo that the meeting them was unfortunate, for they diſmounted ſuch as were on horſeback, and made war on all paſſengers and on whoever had remained in the open country, whether churchmen or not, and plundered them, under the pretext that the king of Caſtille had not given them their pay, and that they had been ruined by the war. They ſaid they would pay themſelves, and all towns not well incloſed were under great alarms.

Every place ſhut its gates againſt them, for whatever they could find was ſeized on unleſs well fought for. Such knights and ſquires as returned through Foix, and waited on the count, were well received by him, and received magnificent preſents. I was told that this expedition, including the going to Caſtille and return, coſt the count de Foix, by his liberalities, upwards of forty thouſand francs.

After the departure of the duke of Bourbon, an accident befel the town of St. Phagon, that I am about to relate, which cauſed the deaths of five hundred men. You muſt know, that when ſir

William de Lignac and ſir Walter de Paſſac firſt came into Caſtille, their force, which was very conſiderable, quartered themſelves over the country near St. Phagon, which is rich, and abundant in all ſorts of proviſion.

Among theſe men at arms were many Bretons, Poitevins, Saintongers, who, riding firſt to St. Phagon, entered the town in parties of ſix, ten, fifteen and twenty, ſo that at laſt they amounted to more than five hundred, including ſervants. As they entered, they lodged themſelves, and began to pillage and pack up every valuable they could find.

The inhabitants, noticing their conduct, ſecretly cloſed their gates, that no more ſhould enter; and, when theſe ſtrangers thought to repoſe themſelves, the townſmen cried, 'To arms!' and entering the chambers where they lay, ſlew them without pity or mercy: happy were they who could eſcape, for they murdered upwards of five hundred.

News of this was brought, in the morning, to the French lords quartered near the town, and they held a council to conſider how they ſhould act. They thought it improper at the moment to retaliate on them for this conduct, for if they ſhould begin by burning towns and villages, the whole country would riſe againſt them, to the great joy of their enemies, but they determined that, when the expedition ſhould be ended, and they on their return, they would then talk to them, and make them pay ſeverely.

When this army was on its return to France, which

which included all except thoſe who remained with ſir Oliver du Gueſclin, they ſaid among themſelves, 'Our arrival at St. Phagon coſt us dear, but they ſhall fully repay us on our return.' They were all of this mind, and, having aſſembled about one thouſand, they entered the town, as there was neither guard nor watch; for the townsmen had forgotten what had paſſed, and hoped the French had done ſo likewiſe, and that no more quarrels would happen between them. It was not ſo, to their great loſs; for, when they thought themſelves ſecure, the cry of 'To arms!' reſounded from more than one hundred places, accompanied with voices ſhouting, 'Let us kill and deſtroy all the ſcoundrels of this town, and plunder what they may have, in revenge for their murders of our countrymen.' The Bretons inſtantly began to put theſe threats into execution, and to enter every houſe where they expected pillage, killing the inhabitants, breaking open deſks and trunks, and doing every miſchief in their power. There were, this day, more than four hundred ſlaughtered, the town robbed and half burned, which was a great pity. Such was the revenge the companions took on St. Phagon, and then marched away.

Intelligence was ſent to the king of Caſtille that the men at arms, who had been under ſir William de Lignac and ſir Walter de Paſſac, had, on their return, pillaged the good town of St. Phagon, murdered upwards of four hundred of its inhabitants, and ſet the town on fire. They added, that if the Engliſh had taken it even by

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ſtorm, they would not have treated it ſo cruelly. At the time this was told the king, the two above-named knights were with him, and were ſeverely reprimanded by him and his council. They excuſed themſelves, ſaying, —'That as God may help them, they were ignorant of the intentions of their men: they had, indeed heard they were much diſpleaſed with the inhabitants of St. Phagon, who, on their coming to Caſtille, had murdered many of their companions, for which revenge had lurked in their hearts; but that, in truth, they thought it had been forgotten.'

The king of Caſtille was forced to paſs it over, as it might have coſt him more had he thought of puniſhing it; but he was very ill pleaſed with theſe two commanders, which he ſhewed, when they took leave of him to return to France. Had he been contented with them, it may be ſuppoſed they would have had more magnificent preſents. The duke of Bourbon, his knights and ſquires, having quitted the king to his ſatisfaction, and left the country firſt, had carried off the flower of the preſents.

The French marched out of Caſtille in various directions, ſome through Biſcay, others through Arragon. Many knights and ſquires, who had lived on their pay, diſdaining to plunder, returned poor and ſorrily mounted; while others, who had ſeized on whatever they could meet with, were well furniſhed with gold and ſilver, and heavy trunks. Thus it happens, in theſe adventures, ſome gain and others loſe. The king of Caſtille was very much rejoiced when he found ſelf and kingdom freed from ſuch men.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LEAVES SANT JAGO, FOR COIMBRA, AND THENCE GOES TO BAYONNE.

WE will return to the duke of Lancaſter, whom we left ill in bed at Sant Jago, where he reſided with his ducheſs and daughter Catharine. You may ſuppoſe, the duke felt many mortifications, from the complete failure of his hopes of the crown of Caſtille, and the great loſs of his chivalry, whom he daily and nightly lamented, and whom he had brought with ſuch difficulty from England. He had now no expectation of making a treaty of peace that ſhould allow the ducheſs any right to the crown, or yield up, by way of compoſition, to her any part of the kingdom; for he had heard from pilgrims to Sant Jago, from Brabant, Hainault and other countries, who had paſſed through the French army in Caſtille, that the Caſtillians and French made their jokes on him, ſaying to the pilgrims,—'Ye are going to Sant Jago, are ye? Ye will find there the duke of Lancaſter, who, for fear of the ſun, keeps his chamber. Give our compliments to him, and aſk him, on his faith, if we French know how to make war, and if we have not fought him fairly, and if he be contented with us. The Engliſh uſed to ſay, that we knew better how to dance and ſing than to fight; but the tables are now turned: it is

they

they who repoſe and ſing, and we keep the field and guard our frontiers, ſo that we have not loſt any thing.'

The duke of Lancaſter, like a wiſe man, bore all this patiently, for he could not do otherwiſe; and, when he was able to ride, he departed from Sant Jago with his ducheſs and family. The king of Portugal had ſent his conſtable, the count de Novaire, and ſir John Fernando Portelet, with five hundred lances, to eſcort him. Among theſe knights were the Ponnaſſe d'Acunha, Egeas Colle, Vaſco Martin de Merlo, Galopes Fernando, ſir Alvarez Perez, John Radighos de Sar, Gaynes de Falnes, all barons. With this eſcort, the duke and his family left Compoſtella, and continued their march to Oporto, where the king and queen of Portugal were waiting for them, and entertained them handſomely.

Soon after the arrival of the duke, the king and queen left Oporto, and went to Coimbra, which is but one day's journey diſtant. The duke of Lancaſter remained there for two months and attended to his affairs, and to the making of preparations for his departure. By the king's orders, the high admiral of Portugal, don Alphonſo Brecart, had equipped ſome galleys for his reception; on board of which, when the weather and wind were favourable, they embarked, and, weighing anchor, took to the deep, and in one day and a half were at Bayonne, which is upwards of ſeventy-two leagues. On their arrival, they were diſappointed in not

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meeting sir John Holland and the other Engliſh; but they had left it for Bordeaux, where they had embarked, and had landed in England.

The duke of Lancaſter made a long reſidence at Bayonne, and enforced the payments of arrears, and other dues from the duchy of Aquitaine, and ſuch parts as were under the obedience of king Richard; for he had a commiſſion to impoſe and receive all taxes to his own uſe, and he ſtiled himſelf duke and governor of Aquitaine. We will now leave the duke and the Engliſh, until it ſhall be proper to return to them, and ſpeak of other matters.

CHAP. VIII.

THE COUNT D'ARMAGNAC TAKES GREAT PAINS TO PREVAIL ON THE FREE COMPANIES TO GIVE UP THEIR FORTS FOR A SUM OF MONEY. —THE COUNT DE FOIX, UNDERHAND PREVENTS HIS SUCCESS.

THE count d'Armagnac, at this period, reſided in Auvergne, and was negotiating with ſuch free companions as held forts in Auvergne, Quercy and Limouſin. The count took great pains, from his attachment to France, to make the leaders of theſe garriſons, who did great miſchief to the country, ſurrender them up, and depart to other places. All the captains, except Geoffry Tête-noir, who held Ventadour,

Ventadour, ſeemed willing to accept his terms, and receive, in one ſum, two hundred and fifty thouſand francs. On payment of this ſum, they were all to quit the country, which would gladly have ſeen them depart; for the inhabitants could not till the earth, nor carry on trade, for fear of theſe pillagers, unleſs they had entered into compoſition with them, according to their wealth and rank; and theſe compoſitions amounted, in the year, to as much as was now demanded for the evacuation of the forts.

Although theſe garriſons made war under pretext of being Engliſh, there were very few of that nation; but the greater part Gaſcons, Germans and Foixiens, and from different countries, who had united together to do miſchief.

When this treaty had been fully concluded with all the captains, except Geoffry Tête-noir, the count d'Armagnac entreated the count dauphin d'Auvergne, who was a great baron and able negotiator, to join him in this treaty, and from his affection to him, to undertake a journey to Paris, to the king and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who at that time governed the kingdom, to explain what he had done in regard to theſe free companions, and to have their conſent; for without their orders the ſum of money to pay them could not be raiſed in the country.

The count dauphin complied with this requeſt, and rode to Paris; but the king was gone to Rouen, whither the count followed him. He there explained to the king and his council the

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ſtate of the country, and the treaty the count d'Armagnac had made with the companions. He did not ſoon accompliſh the object of his coming; for the lords of the council, knowing well what ſort of people theſe free companions were, had no faith in their profeſſions, and dreaded they would not abide by any treaty. They ſaid to him,—'Count dauphin, we know that you and the count d'Armagnac are anxious to promote every thing for the honour and advantage of the kingdom; for both of you have rich and extenſive inheritances within it: but we very much ſuſpect that theſe Gaſcons and Béarnois, when they ſhall have received the ſums agreed for, and the country ſhall be weakened, will, in the courſe of three or four months, return, regain poſſeſſion of their caſtles, and commit greater waſte than they have hitherto done.'

The count dauphin replied to the council,—'My lords, it is our intention, that when this ſum be raiſed, it ſhall be depoſited at Clermont or Rioms, and there remain until we have certificates of theſe companies having quitted the country.'

'That is well ſaid,' anſwered the dukes of Berry and Burgundy: 'we are willing the money be raiſed and put in a place of ſafety; for at all events, ſhould they refuſe to conform to the treaty, it will ſerve to collect forces to make war upon them, and drive them out of their forts. This ſum ſhall be under the direction of you, the count d'Armagnac, and the biſhops of Clermont and Puy: you will take care that it be

be honourably diſpoſed of, and for the advantage of the realm.' Having declared he would do ſo, he took leave of the king, his uncles and council, and departing from Rouen, continued his road until he came to Clermont, where he found the count d'Armagnac, his brother and numbers of lords waiting his arrival. He related to them that the king and his council had their doubts of the captains of the free companies, and the manner this money was raiſed, and depoſited in a place of ſecurity until the intentions of theſe captains, who by force kept poſſeſſion of forts and caſtles in the realm, ſhould be clearly known.

They replied, 'that ſuch were their wiſhes; and, ſince it is agreeable to the king, we will finiſh the buſineſs; but we muſt firſt conclude a peace or truce with the leaders, that the country may be aſſured the tax we are about to raiſe will be properly applied for their ſecurity.' Commiſſaries were ſent by the count d'Armagnac to parley with Perrot le Béarnois, and Amerigot Marcel, who were the principal chiefs of the forts on this ſide the Dordogne, in conjunction with the bourg de Copane, Bernard des Iſles, Olim Barbe, Abton Seghin, the lord de l'Exemplaire, and many more. Theſe captains could never agree as to terms, for what one party acceded to in one week, the next it was refuſed: the reaſon was, that being from different countries, they had various opinions. Thoſe from Armagnac, who were a ſort of retainers to the count, readily aſſented to what he offered;

but

but the greater part, and moſt determined pillagers, were from Béarn and Foix.

I do not mean to ſay, that the count de Foix ever wiſhed any thing but what was honourable and advantageous to France; but when he firſt heard of theſe negotiations with the captains of ſtrong places in Auvergne, Quercy and Rouergue, he was deſirous to know upon what terms they were made, and the cauſe why the count d'Armagnac was ſo buſy in the matter, and would be informed, when theſe places ſhould be evacuated by the companions, what road they intended to take, and where they meant to fix themſelves. He was anſwered; 'My lord, it is the intention of the count d'Armagnac to engage theſe men at arms, when they ſhall have ſurrendered the forts, to lead them into Lombardy, where his brother-in-law (who, you know, married his ſiſter, the widow of your ſon Gaſton) has great difficulty in defending his inheritance, for there ſeems every probability of a war in Lombardy.

The count de Foix made no anſwer to this, ſeeming not to have heard it, but turned about to others preſent, and converſed with them. He was not, however, the leſs thoughtful about what had been ſaid, and determined ſecretly to prevent any of theſe treaties being concluded; at leaſt, from the ſequel it ſo appears.

The count d'Armagnac could never ſucceed, notwithſtanding his repeated attempts, towards inducing any of the captains who were from Béarn, or Foix, to yield up their forts, or accept of any engagement, to ſerve the count or

his

his brother Bernard. The count de Foix, who was prudence itſelf, conſidering that theſe two lords, his couſins, and thoſe of Albreth, were very powerful, and acquiring friends on all ſides, was unwilling to add to their ſtrength by thoſe who were his retainers: he therefore determined what line he would follow, as was told me, when at Orthès, by ſir Eſpaign de Lyon, the bourg de Copane, captain of Carlat in Auvergne, and the bourg Anglois.

The count de Foix was at war with the Armagnacs, though at this moment there was a truce, which was uſually renewed five or ſix times every year; and, ſhould the Armagnacs and Albreths obtain the aſſiſtance of theſe captains of free companies, who were ſo hardy and cunning in war, they would be enabled to bring a large force into the field, and do the count de Foix great miſchief. This was the principal cauſe why the captains who were dependant on him would never accept terms from the count d'Armagnac.

They indeed gave him hopes of agreeing with him; but although many appointments were made for a meeting, they kept none, but ran over the country, and pillaged it at their pleaſure, juſt the ſame as before any treaty was talked of. The count was daily expecting to conclude one; and the captain he was moſt anxious to gain over was Perrot le Béarnois, who held the ſtrong caſtle of Chalucet, and was the principal commander in Auvergne and Limouſin, for his compoſitions extended as far as la Rochelle. The

others

others were, William de Sainte Foix, who held Bouteville; Amerigot Marcel, who reſided at Loyſe, near St. Flour in Auvergne; the bourg de Copane and the bourg Anglois, who held Carlat. He ſaid, he could at any time have Amerigot Marcel; but he was deſirous of gaining over Perrot le Béarnois, and Geoffry Tête-noir, who held Ventadour and was the chief of them all. They only laughed, and made their jokes of the count, diſdaining to enter into any treaty with him or any one elſe. Geoffry knew his caſtle was impregnable, and provided with ſtores and a ſufficient garriſon for ſeven or eight years; and it was not in the power of any lord to ſhut him up, ſo that he could not be prevented from making ſallies whenever he choſe.

Geoffry began all his paſſports and treaties of compoſitions with, 'Geoffry Tête-noir, duke of Ventadour, count of Limouſin, ſovereign lord and commander of all the captains in Auvergne, Rouergue and Limouſin,' I will now leave theſe matters, and ſpeak of what was paſſing in my own country, from the peace which was granted to the Ghent men, on the concluſion of their war, by the duke and ducheſs of Burgundy, who ſigned and ſealed it in the noble city of Tournay. To add ſtrength to my hiſtory, I muſt ſpeak of what was paſſing in Gueldres and Brabant; for the king of France and duke of Burgundy were much affected by the events that happened in thoſe countries, and took great part in the war that enſued.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A DIGRESSION ON THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF BRABANT AND GUELDRES.—THE LIFE OF COUNT REGINALD OF GUELDRES AND HIS SUCCESSORS, UNTIL THE REIGN OF CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, BEING AN ALLY OF ENGLAND SENDS HIS CHALLENGE TO FRANCE.—THE CAUSE OF THIS CHALLENGE.

THERE had been, for ſome time, a hatred between the houſes of Brabant and Gueldres: their countries border on each other; but the origin of this hatred of the Brabanters was on account of the town of Grave, which the dukes of Gueldres had taken poſſeſſion of, and kept by force. This the Brabanters complained of, as it is ſituated on their ſide of the river Meuſe; and, though many conferences were held on the ſubject, their hatred was not abated. Thoſe of Gueldres complained, that the duke of Brabant had, in revenge, ſeized on three caſtles on their ſide of the Meuſe, and at the entrance of their country, called Gambet, Buct and Mille. Theſe quarrels between the two dukes were frequently embittered; but it was the opinion of many able knights and ſquires in arms, that if the lord Edward of Gueldres (who was unfortu-

nately

nately ſlain by an arrow from an archer of the dukes of Luxembourg or Brabant, at the battle of Juliers*,) had ſurvived and gained the victory, he was ſo valiant, he would have reconquered theſe three caſtles.

I will now relate, according to my promiſe, how theſe caſtles came into the poſſeſſion of Brabant, that I may embelliſh my hiſtory; and I will begin with ſpeaking of the dukes of Gueldres†. It was not long before I began to indite this work, that there lived a count of Gueldres, called Reginald. Gueldres is not ſo rich, nor ſo extenſive a country as Brabant: notwithſtanding this, count Reginald, coming to his property when a young man, had every inclination for expenſe, and cared not what his pleaſures coſt him. He attended all tilts and tournaments in the greateſt magnificence, and expended, yearly, four times more than his uſual revenue. He was generous and liberal, and made extravagant preſents, ſo that he borrowed from the Lombards on all ſides, and was ſoon ſo indebted he knew not whither to turn himſelf. His relations were greatly angered by ſuch conduct, and blamed him exceedingly; but in particular the archbiſhop of Cologne, who was his uncle by his mother's ſide. One day, when he had him in his cloſet, he ſaid,—'Reginald, my fair nephew, you have managed your affairs ſo well, that you will ſoon find yourſelf a poor man;

* 1372.

† They were firſt created dukes of Gueldres by the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, 1339, at Frankfort.

for your lands are mortgaged all round. In this world, poor lords are not valued. Do you imagine that thoſe to whom you have made ſuch great gifts will return them to you? No, as God may help me: they will fly from you when they know you have nothing more to give, and will laugh at and mock you for your fooliſh expenſes, and you will not find one friend to aſſiſt you. Do not depend on me; for though I am archbiſhop of Cologne, I will not curtail my eſtabliſhment to repair your fortune, nor give you the patrimony of the church: no, I vow to God, my conſcience forbids it, and neither the pope nor cardinals will conſent to it. The count of Hainault, who has not kept the ſtate you have, has married his eldeſt daughter, Margaret, to Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany. He has three more whom he will alſo marry very nobly. Had you lived as was becoming you, and had you not mortgaged your lands, towns or caſtles, you were a proper perſon for ſuch an alliance; but, ſituated as you now are, you will never obtain one of them. You have nothing to dower a wife with, if you had one: not even one poor lordſhip.'

The earl of Gueldres was thunderſtruck at this reprimand of his uncle, for he felt the truth of it. He requeſted, out of love to him, he would give him advice. 'Advice!' replied the archbiſhop: 'it is now, my fair nephew, too late: you wiſh to ſhut the ſtable-door when the ſteed is ſtolen. I ſee but one remedy for your diſtreſs.' 'And what is that?' ſaid the count.

 'I will

'I will tell you,' anſwered the archbiſhop. 'You are much indebted to Bertaldo of Mechlin, who is at preſent the richeſt merchant in the world, from the great commerce he carries on with all parts of it by ſea and land. His galleys and veſſels ſail as far as Alexandria, Cairo and Damaſcus, with cargoes of the value of one hundred thouſand florins: he alſo has a mortgage on the greater part of your lands. Bertaldo has one daughter now of an age to marry, and no other children. Several great barons of Germany and other countries have demanded her in marriage, but, I know not why, unſucceſsfully: he may perhaps fear ſome as being too high, and others he may hold cheap: I therefore adviſe you to treat with Bertaldo, who may liſten to you, and give you his daughter, that you may clear yourſelf of all your debts, and regain poſſeſſion of your lands; for I ſhould ſuppoſe, from your birth and in conſideration of your having your poſſeſſions, between the Meuſe and the Rhine, ſo well filled with populous towns, he will comply with your requeſt.'

'By my faith, uncle,' replied the count, 'you adviſe me well, and I will follow what you have ſaid.'

Count Reginald, ſhortly after, ſummoned thoſe of his friends in whom he had the greateſt confidence and affection, and declared to them his intentions of marrying the daughter of Bertaldo of Mechlin. He requeſted them to go thither and demand her, and he would make her counteſs of Gueldres, on ſuch conditions as the

archbiſhop of Cologne ſhould be agreeable to. His friends complied cheerfully, and made inſtant preparations for their journey to Mechlin, where they waited on Bertaldo, and told him the object of their coming. Bertaldo received theſe knights and clerks from the count de Gueldres very graciouſly, entertained them well, and ſaid he would conſider of their demand. Being ſo very rich, for he was worth at leaſt five or ſix millions of florins, he was anxious for the advancement of his daughter, and, thinking he could no way ally her more nobly than to the count de Gueldres, had partly in his own mind aſſented to it. Before he declared it, he had many doubts, and ſaid to himſelf,—'If I give Mary to the count, he will wiſh to be my maſter, and I ſhall no longer have a will of my own. Beſide, ſhould ſhe have children and die, which may happen, he, who will be enriched by my wealth and re-poſſeſſed of all his lands in the country of Gueldres, may marry again, and as nobly as he pleaſes, and have children by this ſecond wife, who, from the high blood of their mother, may hold my daughter's children in contempt, and perhaps diſinherit them. I muſt have all theſe doubts cleared up before I give my conſent. I will, however, mention all this to the friends of the count, and make them ſuch an anſwer as this: That their coming has pleaſed me much, and that my daughter would be very happy to be ſo nobly married as to the count de Gueldres: but at this moment it was well known the affairs of the count were in the *utmoſt* diſorder; that all his lands between the

Meuſe

Meuſe and Rhine were under mortgage, and that, to clear off his incumbrances, he has demanded my daughter in marriage. Before I conſent to this union, I wiſh to know how he means to ſettle his eſtates, and that my daughter's children, ſhould ſhe have ſons or daughters, may ſucceed to the inheritance of Gueldres, notwithſtanding any other marriage take place in caſe of her death. On this point I am determined, and I muſt likewiſe have this ſucceſſion aſſured by himſelf, his relations, and all who may have any claims thereto, as well as by the nobility and principal towns in the country.'

Thus did Bertaldo form the anſwer he was to give the commiſſioners from the count de Gueldres.

On the morrow, at a proper hour, Bertaldo ſignified to the count's friends he was prepared with his anſwer. They were well pleaſed on hearing this, and repaired to the hôtel of Bertaldo, where every thing diſplayed his riches. He met them in the hall, and, after ſome agreeable converſation, conducted them to an apartment fitted up in a manner becoming a king, where ſome of his friends were aſſembled.

When the door was cloſed, Bertaldo deſired them to declare the cauſe of their viſit to him, and he would give them his anſwer. Upon this, the dean of Cologne, couſin to the count de Gueldres, and a valiant clerk, explained ſo eloquently the object of their embaſſy, it was a pleaſure to hear him. Of his ſpeech I need not make any further mention, for the ſubject of it has been told, and it related ſolely to the advantages

vantages of this alliance, and its conveniency to both parties.

Bertaldo, who, the preceding day, had formed his plan, anſwered as follows: 'My fair ſirs, I and my daughter ſhall hold ourſelves much honoured by ſo noble an alliance as the one you have propoſed; and when ſuch matters are brought forward, the leſs delay afterward the better. I ſay this, becauſe an alliance by marriage, between ſo powerful and renowned a lord as count Reginald de Gueldres, with Mary, my daughter, pleaſes me right well. You require that his eſtate, which is now much entangled, by his debts to Lombards and others, ſhould be cleared by this marriage, and every incumbrance done away. Thanks to God, I have the ability as well as inclination ſo to do; but I muſt firſt ſee the following ſettlements fairly engroſſed and ſealed, ſo that, hereafter, no contention enſue between any of the parties: firſt, my daughter's children ſhall inherit the country of Gueldres, comprehended within its preſent limits; and, if my lord Reginald ſhould die before her, without having any heirs from her body, ſhe ſhall peaceably retain the poſſeſſion of that country during her life, and then it may revert to the next lawful heir. If it ſhould happen that my daughter have an heir or heirs by my much honoured prince, count Reginald, and ſhe die before him, the count de Gueldres ſhall not, on account of any ſecondary marriage, diſinherit, or otherwiſe deprive the heir or heirs of my daughter of the ſucceſſion of Gueldres. I conſent, however, that if it ſhall be his good

pleaſure

pleaſure in ſuch caſe to marry again, he may dower the lady with thoſe acquired lands on the other ſide of the Meuſe, bordering on the biſhoprick of Liege and duchy of Brabant, but without charging any part of the country of Gueldres. When the relations and friends of the honourable prince, count Reginald, and all thoſe who may, from their family-connections, have any claims on the duchy of Gueldres, and the chief towns, ſhall have ſigned and ſealed ſettlements drawn up in the manner I have mentioned, I give my conſent to the marriage. You may now, therefore, make any reply you have been charged with.'

The knights from Gueldres, after ſome ſhort converſation together, ſaid; 'Sir, we have well heard your terms; but, not being commiſſioned to ſay any thing in confirmation, or otherwiſe, on the ſubject, we muſt be ſilent. We will return to our lord, and relate punctually to him and his council what you offer, and very ſhortly you ſhall have from him his anſwer.'

'God grant it may be favourable,' replied Bertaldo; 'for I wish it.' On this they all left the apartment and went away. As you have heard every thing that paſſed on this ſubject, I ſhall not dilate on it more.

When the commissioners were returned home, matters ſeemed likely to be ſoon brought to a concluſion; for the count thought, in his preſent ſituation, he could not do better than marry the daughter of Bertaldo, who was powerfully rich. For greater ſecurity, all the ſettlements were drawn up, and engroſſed in his houſe:

when

when they were finished, the count ſigned and ſealed them, as did all his relations whoſe names were mentioned therein, and the nobility and magiſtrates of the principal towns.

Bertaldo being now ſatisfied, the marriage was conſummated, the debts of the count were paid, and all his lands freed from every incumbrance. Thus was the count de Gueldres made rich: he took a new hôtel, and formed a different eſtablishment. If, formerly, he had been thought to keep a magnificent one, this was much ſuperior; for he had now wherewithal to ſupport it, as he never wanted for any money Bertaldo could give him. The count behaved right honourably to his lady, who was very handſome, good, prudent and devout. At the end of four years, the lady died, leaving a daughter of the name of Iſabella. The count, being a young man when he became a widower, married again very nobly; for king Edward of England, father of that king Edward who beſieged Tournay and conquered Calais, gave him his daughter Iſabella.* By this lady he had three children, two ſons and a daughter, ſir Reginald, ſir Edward and Joan, who was afterwards ducheſs of Gueldres.

When king Edward III., who was uncle to theſe children of Gueldres, came firſt into Ger-

* There ſeems ſome miſtake here, but I cannot make it out, nor find in any of the genealogical accounts of the counts of Gueldres, notice of this marriage with the daughter of *the merchant* Bertaldo of Mechlin.

'Reginald II., the 9th count of Gueldres, married, in 1343, Sophia, *countess of Mecheln*, and 1355, Eleanora of *England*.'—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies.*

many

many to visit the emperor, and had been appointed by him vicar-general of the empire, as is contained in the firſt volume of this hiſtory, the county of Gueldres was made a duchy, and the marquiſate of Juliers a county, to elevate thoſe families in dignity. But to come nearer to our times, and connect this with our hiſtory, it happened that, after the deceaſe of this count Reginald we have been ſpeaking of, his ſon, alſo called Reginald, nephew to the king of England, died without heirs. Sir Edward of Gueldres ſucceeded to both: he was married to the eldeſt daughter of duke Albert of Hainault; but ſhe was ſo young, that ſir Edward never carnally knew her, and he died alſo without heirs; for, like a valiant knight, he was ſlain in battle, in a war againſt duke Winceſlaus of Brabant, before Juliers.

Sir Edward's ſiſter-german was married to count William of Juliers, and her brother dying without iſſue, ſhe claimed Gueldres as her inheritance, and brought forward her pretenſions. Her elder ſiſter, by the firſt marriage, made a ſimilar claim, and ſaid, ſince no male heirs remained from the ſecond marriage, the duchy became her right, according to the ſettlements that had been made and ſigned. As this diſpute ran high between the two ſiſters, the elder was adviſed to unite herſelf, by marriage, with ſome perſon well allied, that would defend her rights.

She followed this advice, and deſired the archbiſhop of Cologne, at that time with the

lord

lord John de Blois, whoſe brother, count Lewis, was ſtill alive, to open the matter to him, and, if he were agreeable, ſhe would make him duke of Gueldres; for, by the death of her two brothers, without male iſſue, the duchy had become her inheritance, and none other had any legal claim to it. The lord John de Blois, who had been brought up in Holland and Zealand, having fair inheritances there, and ſpeaking the language, willingly liſtened to the propoſal; for he would never marry in France, thinking he ſhould acquire a large tract of country in the parts he liked beſt. The knights of his council, in Holland, adviſed him to accept of the lady. He conſented to this; but, before he made it public, he rode to Hainault, to conſult his couſin, duke Albert, and hear what he would ſay to it.

Duke Albert, in truth, knew not what advice to give him, or, if he did, he kept it to himſelf, and delayed ſo long, before he could make up his mind, that lord John de Blois was tired of waiting, and, mounting his horſe, rode to Gueldres, married the lady I have mentioned, and took poſſeſſion of the duchy. He was not, however, acknowledged duke by the whole country, nor were her claims univerſally allowed; the majority of knights, ſquires and chief towns, inclined more to the lady of Juliers, who, having a handſome family of children, had gained their hearts.

The lord John, therefore, had with his wife a war, which coſt him much. By the death of his

his brother, count Lewis, he became count of Blois, lord of Aveſnes in Hainault; and the rich inheritances of Holland and Zealand fell likewiſe to him. Notwithſtanding this, his council adviſed him to purſue the claim of his lady on Gueldreland. He did ſo, to the utmoſt of his power; but Germans are a covetous people, and they only continued the war as long as they were duly paid. The diſpute coſt lord John very large ſums, and was never of any ſervice to him. This gallant count, lord John de Blois, died in the caſtle of the good town of Schoonhoven, in the month of June, of the year of grace 1381, and was carried to the church of the Cordeliers at Valenciennes, and buried beſide his grandfather, ſir John of Hainault*.

The lord Guy de Blois ſucceeded his brothers in all their poſſeſſions in France, Picardy, Hainault, Holland and Zealand, as well as in the country of Blois. I know not how many years the lady of lord John ſurvived him, but, on her deceaſe, her ſiſter the counteſs of Juliers, remained peaceable poſſeſſor of the duchy of Gueldres. It was, however, ſettled, at the requeſt of the nobility and inhabitants of the duchy, that lord William de Juliers, eldeſt ſon of the count of Juliers, ſhould be duke of Gueldres; for it had reverted to him in direct ſucceſ-

* The lords Lewis, John and Guy, were ſons of the count Guy de Blois, brother to Charles de Blois, duke of Brittany, by a daughter of ſir John of Hainault, who conducted queen Iſabella of France to England, with her ſon Edward III.—*Annotation* X.—Denys Sauvage.

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ſion from his uncles, and, on this account, duke Albert and his ducheſs had given him their daughter in marriage, who had been betrothed to duke Edward, as before mentioned.

Thus was this lady ſtill ducheſs of Gueldres, and this laſt marriage was the more ſuitable, for they were both nearly of the ſame age. The duke reſided conſtantly in his own country; but the more he increaſed in age the greater was his love for tilts, tournaments and ſuch amuſements, and he was more attached to the Engliſh than to the French, which he ſhewed as long as he lived. He had always rankling in his breaſt a ſimilar hatred to what had ſubſiſted between his anceſtors, and the dukes of Brabant, and was ever ſeeking for occaſion of quarrel with them for two reaſons: one, becauſe he was the ally of king Richard II.; the other, becauſe Winceſlaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg, had purchaſed from the count de Mours, a great baron in Germany, thoſe three caſtles I have before mentioned, but will now mention again, to make the matter clearer, Gambet, Buet and Mille, they are ſituated beyond the Meuſe, on the territory of Fauquemont. The dukes of Gueldres had in former times been lords of theſe caſtles, and the preſent duke was much vexed that he could not add them to his inheritance, but as long as duke Winceſlaus lived he kept all this to himſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

FROISSART RETURNS TO THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF BRABANT AND GUELDRES, WHICH HE HAD LEFT UNFINISHED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER, AND CONTINUES THE HISTORY OF THE DUKES OF GUELDRES TO DUKE WILLIAM, WHO SENDS HIS CHALLENGE TO CHARLES VI. KING OF FRANCE.

DUKE Reginald of Gueldres, couſin-german to the prince of Wales, had mortgaged the three above-mentioned caſtles for a ſum of florins to a great baron of Germany, called the count de Mours. He kept poſſeſſion of them for a time; but, when no intention was ſhewn of paying back the money he had lent on their ſecurity, he grew melancholy and ſent legal ſummons for payment to duke Reginald. But he made light of this, as he had not any money to acquit himſelf of the debt, which frequently happens to many great lords when they are called upon for payment. When the count de Mours perceived this, he made advances to the duke of Brabant, and offered him theſe caſtles for the money for which they were mortgaged. The duke eagerly accepted the propoſal, for they were on the confines of the territory of Fauquemont, of which he was lord. The duke

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was deſirous to increaſe his inheritance, for he thought ſurely to ſurvive his preſent ducheſs, the lady Johanna.*

He took poſſeſſion of theſe caſtles, and placed in them, as governor, the lord de Kale. When, upon the death of duke Reginald, the lord Edward ſucceeded to the duchy of Gueldres, he sent ambaſſadors to the duke of Brabant, to requeſt he might have his caſtles for the money he had paid for them. The duke, not having purchaſed them for this end, returned a poſitive refuſal. The duke of Gueldres was highly indignant at this anſwer, and in conſequence was hard on his ſiſter-in-law, the widow of the lord Reginald and younger ſiſter to the ducheſs of Brabant, by preventing her from receiving her dower. The lady went to Brabant, and laid her complaints of the vexations the duke of Gueldres was occaſioning her, before the duke and ducheſs. On account of the long-ſubſiſting hatred between the Brabanters and thoſe of Gueldres, for the ſeizure of Grave, the firſt were well inclined to aid the lady by force of arms. A large body of men at arms were indeed once collected in Brabant, and advanced to Bois le Duc, to the amount of twelve hundred ſpears. The duke of

* Winceſlaus was the ſecond huſband of Johanna, heireſs of Brabant and Limbourg. She was married to him 1355. After the death of Winceſlaus, the 8th December 1384, and his ſon, ſhe conſtituted Anthony, ſecond ſon of the duke of Burgundy, her heir 1404. Her firſt huſband, William count of Holland, died 1345 without iſſue.—Johanna died 1406.—*Anderson's R. G.*

Gueldres had likewiſe aſſembled his forces, and it was generally thought a battle would have been the conſequence; but duke Albert, the count de Mours, and the count of Juliers this time interfered, and they ſeparated without coming to blows.

This ſame year duke Winceslaus was victorious over ſome free companies, who had overrun and deſpoiled his lands in Luxembourg: he baniſhed many, and put to death their leader, called the little Meſclin, in the tower of the caſtle of Luxembourg. In this year alſo, the lord Charles of Bohemia, emperor of Germany, appointed the duke of Brabant chief of an inſtitution called in Germany Languefride, which ſignifies an aſſociation for the repairs and ſecurity of the public roads, ſo that all perſons may travel from one part to another without danger. The Emperor gave him alſo great poſſeſſions in Alſace on both ſides of the Rhine, that he might guard the country againſt the Linfars, who are a moſt wicked people, robbing all without mercy. He gave him likewiſe the ſovereignty of the large city of Straſburgh, and, to add to his dignity, created him a prince of the holy Roman empire. He certainly could not give him too much, for this duke Winceſlaus was generous, amiable, courteous to all, and gallant in arms. Great things might have been expected from him, had he been granted longer life, but he died in the flower of his age; on account of which I, the author of this hiſtory, greatly grieve, and wiſh he had enjoyed a courſe of eighty years or more, for he would have done much good to mankind. The

ſchiſm in the church afflicted him greatly, as he often expreſſed himſelf to me, who lived with him on the moſt intimate and friendly footing. And notwithſtanding that I have ſeen and perſonally known upwards of two hundred powerful princes in my various travels, I have never found any more courteous and amiable than this duke of Brabant, and my very good lord the count Guy de Blois, who commanded me to indite this chronicle. Theſe were the two princes of my time, of the greateſt liberality, humility and goodneſs, who lived magnificently on their revenues, without malice or any way oppreſſing their ſubjects by taxes, and iſſuing any hurtful edicts through their territories. But I will now return to the principal ſubject of this chapter.

When the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, who were brothers by marriage, and whoſe hearts were too much attached to the Engliſh; for they had long been the allies of the kings of England, and ſtrongly united to each other, heard of the dignities conferred by the emperor on the duke of Brabant, they were much exaſperated; not from any wiſh to do good or correct the wicked, but that ſuch honours ſhould be conferred on their enemy: more particularly that he ſhould have the appointment of Languefride, and execute the office with ſeverity, for it affected their lands. This inſtitution had been firſt formed for the ſecurity of thoſe merchants of Hainault, Brabant, France, Flanders and Liege, who travelled thence to Cologne, Treves, Lucca, Conſtance, and other cities and fairs in Germany. Merchants could not enter thoſe countries,

tries, without risk, through the ſtates of Juliers or Gueldres.

It happened there were ſome robberies committed on the highways by theſe Linfars, who had eſcaped into the territory of the duke of Juliers; and it was told me, that the duke had even lent them horſes and the uſe of his caſtles. Heavy complaints were made of this to duke Winceſlaus, who at that time was reſident in Bruſſels, and that the Languefride was held in contempt; that the perſons who had violated it were retired into the duchy of Juliers, where they lived unmoleſted.

The duke of Brabant, at that time young and chivalrous, high in birth and rich in fortune, was greatly piqued at this conduct, and hurt by the complaints of thoſe who had been robbed; he declared he would ſpeedily provide a remedy, and, being nominated chief of the Languefride, would not that any blame ſhould fall on him for negligence in the due ſupport of it.

To be aſſured of the fact, and through the advice of his friends, he ſent to the duke of Juliers ſome of the firſt men in his country, ſuch as the lord d'Urquon, the lord Bourgueval, ſir Scelar archdeacon of Hainault, Geoffry de la Tour grand routier of Brabant, and ſeveral more, to remonſtrate with him in an amicable manner on the impropriety of his conduct, and that proper excuſes muſt be made for the offence, as it affected too ſtrongly the duke of Brabant as chief of the Languefride.

The duke of Juliers paid but little attention to their remonſtrances, for he ſeemed rather to

prefer war to peace, which diſpleaſed ſo much the envoys from the duke of Brabant, that they took leave of him, and returned to relate all that had paſſed. The duke of Brabant, having heard them, asked their advice how to act. 'Sir,' they replied, 'you know it full well yourſelf: ſpeak your will.' 'Well then,' ſaid the duke, 'it is not my intention to let this matter ſleep, nor ſhall it be ſaid, through cowardice or weakneſs of heart, I have ſuffered any robberies to be committed within my juriſdiction with impunity, as I will make my couſin, the duke of Juliers, and his adherents very ſoon feel, and that the buſineſs is perſonal to me.' The duke was not idle, but inſtantly ſet clerks to work in writing letters to all from whom he expected any aſſiſtance: ſome he entreated, others he commanded, and gave ſufficient notice to the duke of Juliers and his allies of his intentions.

Each of theſe lords provided themſelves as ably as they could: but the duke of Juliers would have made an indifferent figure without his brother-in-law the duke of Gueldres, who greatly reinforced him with men at arms and friends. Theſe two lords collected men ſecretly from Germany; and as the Germans are avaricious, and had not for ſome time had any opportunity of gain, they accepted their pay, and came in greater numbers as they were ignorant they were to be employed againſt the duke of Brabant.

The duke of Brabant left Bruſſels in grand array and went to Louvain, thence to Maeſtricht, where he found upwards of one thouſand

good

good ſpears waiting for him: other forces were coming to his aid from France, Flanders, Hainault, Namur, Lorraine, Bar and different parts, ſo that his army amounted to full two thouſand five hundred lances. Four hundred ſpears, under the lord of Geant, were on their march to join him from Burgundy; but they arrived too late, from not knowing when an engagement would take place, and were much vexed when they heard it was over without their being preſent.

While the duke of Brabant remained at Maeſtricht, he could not obtain any intelligence of his enemies: he therefore determined to advance and enter their lands, which he did on a Wedneſday, and there encamped. He halted that day and the next, and learnt from his ſcouts that the enemy had taken the field. He commanded the army to advance into the territory of Juliers and burn it. This Thurſday he halted at an early hour. The van was commanded by Guy de Ligny, count de St. Paul, and the lord Waleran his ſon, who though very young, being no more than ſixteen years old, was then made a knight.

The Brabanters encamped very cloſe together, and, as it appeared, the Germans were better informed of their ſtate than the Brabanters were concerning them; for, on the Friday morning, as the duke had heard maſs, and all were on the plain, not thinking a battle would ſoon take place, the dukes of Juliers and Guelᵹdres made their appearance, with a large and well *mounted body* of men at arms. The duke

of Brabant was told: 'Sir, here are your enemies: put on your helmets quickly, in the name of God and St. George.' He was well pleaſed on hearing this; and that day he had near his perſon four ſquires, well informed, and of courage to ſave ſuch a prince, having been engaged in many deeds of arms and pitched battles: their names were John de Valcon, Baldwin de Beaufort, Gerard de Bles and Orlando de Cologne.

The men of Bruſſels ſurrounded the duke: ſome were mounted with their ſervants behind them, who carried flaggons of wine, and ſalmon, trout and eel pies, neatly packed in handſome towels attached to their ſaddles. Theſe people, with their horſes, filled up the place ſo much, that no proper orders could be given. At length, Gerard de Bles ſaid to the duke,—'Sir, order all theſe horſe away that ſurround us: they are greatly in our way, and prevent us from knowing what is become of the van and rear diviſion, under your marſhal ſir Robert de Namur.' 'I conſent,' replied the duke, and gave his orders. Upon this, Gerard and his companions, ſword in hand, began to lay about them, on helmets and horſes, ſo that the place was inſtantly cleared; for no one would willingly have his horſe wounded or killed.

To make an end of the buſineſs: the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres advanced full gallop on the van, under the command of the count de St. Paul and his ſon, which they broke and defeated, and many were ſlain and made priſoners. This diviſion made the greateſt reſiſtance,

and

and the count de St. Paul and his ſon were among the dead. Fortune was unkind to the duke of Brabant and his allies; for this battle was ſo ſevere, few men of honour eſcaped death or captivity.

The duke of Brabant, ſir Robert de Namur, ſir Lewis, his brother, ſir William de Namur, ſon to the count de Namur, were made priſoners, and ſuch numbers of others, that their enemies were fully occupied when they ſurrendered to them. There were many ſlain on the ſide of the duke of Juliers: but you know it is a general obſervation, a defeated army always ſuffers the moſt.

The Brabanters, however, had one ſatisfaction in their great loſs, in the death of duke Edward of Gueldres; for it was the opinion of all, that had he ſurvived, he would have overrun the country, and conquered the whole, as well as Bruſſels, without meeting any oppoſition; for he was a moſt outrageouſly bold knight, and deteſted the Brabanters, on account of the three caſtles they held from him.

The duke of Juliers gained this victory on a Friday of Auguſt, the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1371.

The ducheſs of Brabant, in her diſtreſs, had recourſe to king Charles V. of France, who was nephew to the duke. The king adviſed her to apply in perſon to the emperor of Germany, as being brother to the duke of Brabant, and becauſe he had ſuffered in the ſupport of the emperor's rights. The lady did ſo, and went to Conſtance, where ſhe found the emperor, to whom ſhe made her complaints. The

emperor

emperor heard her with attention, and was bound by ſeveral reaſons, to grant her relief and comfort; firſt, becauſe the duke was his brother, and becauſe he had appointed him his vicar of the empire, and chief of the Languefride. He conſoled the ducheſs, and told her, that before the enſuing ſummer were paſſed, he would provide an ample remedy for what had happened.

The ducheſs returned to Brabant greatly comforted. The emperor, lord Charles of Bohemia, was not inactive; for, as ſoon as the winter was paſſed, he went to the noble city of Cologne, where he made ſuch vaſt proviſion of ſtores, as if he were about to march to the conqueſt of a kingdom. He wrote to all counts and dukes who held lands under him, to meet him the third day of June, at Aix la Chapelle, each accompanied by fifty horſe, under pain of forfeiture of his lands for diſobedience. He particularly ſummoned duke Albert, earl of Hainault, to Aix with fifty horſe, who obeyed.

When all the lords who had been ſummoned were arrived at Aix la Chapelle, the place was much crowded, and the emperor then declared he would inſtantly enter the duchy of Juliers to deſtroy it, on account of the great outrage that had been offered him, by the duke of Juliers taking up arms againſt his vicar and brother; for ſuch had been the ſentence adjudged in the courts of the empire.

The archbiſhop of Treves, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the biſhop of Mentz, the biſhop of *Liege, duke Albert* of Bavaria, the duke of Auſtria,

tria, his brother, and many great barons of Germany, relations of the duke of Juliers, having conſulted together, thought that to deſtroy the whole of the territories of ſo valiant a knight was a puniſhment too ſevere. They therefore propoſed that the duke of Juliers ſhould be ſummoned, and brought to acknowledge his error. This being agreed to, all parties laboured to bring about a reconciliation.

Duke Albert and his brother went to Juliers, where they found the duke ſo much diſmayed at this large armament of the emperor, that he knew not how to act, nor what council to follow, for he had heard it was intended againſt him, unleſs his friends exerted themſelves to avert it. The duke of Juliers was much rejoiced and comforted, by the arrival of two ſuch lords as duke Albert of Bavaria and the duke of Auſtria, his brother, beſide being his relations; for he knew they would not allow him to ſuffer any diſgrace, but would give him the beſt advice for his conduct. They counſelled him as follows: to ſend ſome of his principal knights for his couſin the duke of Brabant, whom he had detained a priſoner at large in the town and caſtle of Judeque*. When he was brought to them, theſe lords paid him every reſpect that was his due. They then all left Juliers together, and rode to Aix, where they diſmounted at the hôtels which had been prepared for them.

Duke Albert, his brother, and the before-mentioned prelates, who had been mediators in this buſineſs, went to the emperor and his council,

* Judeque. Q. if not Gulick, Juliers.

and

and told them, that the duke of Juliers was, of his own free will, come to wait on him, and was willing to put himſelf, without reſervation, in his power, as he acknowledged him for his ſovereign and liege lord. Theſe humble words greatly ſoftened the anger of the emperor, and he replied, 'Let the duke of Juliers come hither.'

When the duke of Juliers was in the preſence of the emperor, he caſt himſelf on his knees, and ſaid, 'Moſt redoubted and ſovereign lord, I underſtand you are much diſpleaſed with me for having detained ſo long in priſon your brother of Brabant. I am willing to refer the whole matter to your noble ſelf, and will conform to whatever may be your judgment and that of your council.'

The emperor made no anſwer to this ſpeech; but his ſon, the king of Bohemia, replied,—'Duke of Juliers, you have behaved very outrageouſly, in keeping ſo long our uncle of Brabant priſoner; and had it not been for your well-beloved couſins, the dukes of Bavaria and Auſtria, who have ſo warmly interceded for you, this matter would have turned out very diſagreeably to you, and you would have well deſerved that it ſhould do ſo. Continue your harangue, and manage that we be ſatisfied with you, and that we have never again any cauſe to complain of your conduct; for another time it will coſt you very dear.'

The duke of Juliers was ſtill on his knees before the emperor, ſeated on his imperial throne, and thus ſpoke: 'My very redoubted and ſovereign lord, I acknowledge that I have been guilty

guilty of contempt to your imperial dignity, by raiſing an army, and engaging with it my couſin, your brother, the vicar of the holy empire. If the fortune of war gave me the day, and your brother was taken priſoner, I now reſtore him to you free of all ranſom; and, if you pleaſe, there ſhall never again be any ill will or revenge thought on between us.'

The prelates and princes, ſtanding round, ſaid, —'Moſt renowned lord, accept the excuſes and offers which your couſin the duke of Juliers, makes you, and let them ſatisfy you.' 'We are willing to do ſo,' ſaid the emperor; and, as it was told me, in further confirmation, he took the duke of Juliers by the hand, as he roſe, and kiſſed him on the mouth. The king of Bohemia and duke of Brabant did the ſame.

Thus was Winceſlaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, delivered from priſon, by the power of the emperor, without ranſom, as were all that had been made priſoners by the duke of Juliers, and who had not paid their ranſoms, by the treaties that were drawn up in conſequence of this reconciliation.

When this matter had been concluded, the aſſembly broke up, and all returned to their homes. The emperor went to Prague, the duke of Brabant to Bruſſels. When the duke of Brabant was there arrived, he impoſed a very heavy tax on the country, to make reſtitution to the knights and ſquires for ſome part of the loſſes they had ſuffered.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN BRABANT AND GUELDRES. —ON THE DEATH OF DUKE WINCESLAUS, THE YOUNG WILLIAM OF JULIERS, DUKE OF GUELDRES, ENDEAVOURS BY EVERY MEANS TO REGAIN THE THREE CASTLES.—HE ALLIES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, BECAUSE FRANCE SUPPORTS THE RIGHTS OF THE WIDOW-DUCHESS OF BRABANT.

I HAVE taken much pains to detail all the particulars of this matter in my hiſtory, to bring it to the point I aim at, which is to explain why king Charles of France led a powerful army into Germany. I might indeed have paſſed it more briefly over, if I had choſen; but the dates of all theſe circumſtances ought to be inſerted in this hiſtory. In truth, I have my own manner of relating things, which, though pleaſing to me, is indifferent enough. When I learnt that the kings of France and England were about to interfere in this buſineſs, I exerted myſelf to examine more deeply into the ſubject than I had hitherto done, and ſhall continue it as follows.

On the return of duke Winceſlaus to Brabant, freed from all dangers of priſon, as you have heard, he was deſirous of viſiting his ſtates and caſtles, as well in the duchy of Luxembourg as elſewhere. He took therefore his road towards *Alſace* and the city of Straſburgh, through

through the territory of Fauquemont. He viſited thoſe three caſtles which had cauſed the hatred of the duke of Gueldres, and found them ſtrong, handſome and well ſituated. If he liked them before, he was now ſtill more pleaſed with them, and ordered the tenants around to aſſiſt in ſtrengthening their fortifications. He employed maſons, carpenters and ditchers to repair and ornament them; and, before his departure, he appointed a prudent and valiant knight, called ſir John Groſſet, as governor in chief, with orders to guard and defend them at his peril. The duke continued his journey through his ſtates, ſtopping at various places, according to his pleaſure, and then returned to Brabant, which was his fixed place of reſidence.

Sir John de Blois had at this period married the ducheſs-dowager of Gueldres, to whom that duchy had fallen by the death of lord Edward, ſlain, as you have heard, at the battle of Juliers: but the ducheſs of Juliers oppoſed her claim on Gueldres, and was ſupported by the majority of the nobility and principal towns; for ſhe was more popular with them than her eldeſt ſiſter becauſe ſhe had a fine ſon, of an age to defend them in war, and neither her ſiſter nor her huſband, ſir John de Blois, had ever peaceable poſſeſſion of the duchy. The war to ſupport the claim of the ducheſs, in which he was forced to engage, coſt him upwards of one hundred thouſand francs; and after all William de Juliers, ſon to the duke of Juliers, (who had early ſhewn in his youth that chivalry and love

of arms had deſcended to him by blood on both ſides) remained duke of Gueldres.

An union was concluded between him and the eldeſt daughter of duke Albert, who was married to the lord Edward of Gueldres, but the marriage, on account of her extreme youth, had never been conſummated. By this union with lord William, ſhe remained ducheſs of Gueldres.

Time and ſeaſons paſs and change; and this young duke increaſed in honour, ſtrength and underſtanding, with a great deſire for deeds of arms, and a ſtrong inclination to add to his ſtates. His heart was more Engliſh than French, and he had declared in his younger years that he would always aid the kings of England in their wars; for, being more nearly connected by blood with them than with the kings of France, he bore them greater affection.

When his council gave him to underſtand that the Brabanters did him much injury by the detention of the three caſtles which the duke and ducheſs held from him, he replied, 'Be it ſo: wait a while: every thing has its turn. Is it not yet time for me to exert myſelf, for our couſin of Brabant has too many powerful friends; but a time may come, when I will rouſe myſelf in earneſt.'

Things remained in this ſtate, until God was pleaſed to call to him duke Winceſlaus, who died duke of Brabant and Luxembourg, as has been already related in this hiſtory. The du-

cheſs

chefs and the ſtates ſuffered a great loſs by the death of this gallant duke.

The young duke of Gueldres, who was now of an age to maintain his pretenſions by arms againſt his enemies, began to take meaſures for the regaining theſe three caſtles, which had created ſuch hatred between Brabant and his uncle, the lord Edward of Gueldres. He ſent perſons properly authoriſed to treat with the ducheſs of Brabant for the ſurrender of the caſtles on payment of the ſum they had been mortgaged for: but the lady replied, that as they were now legally in her poſſeſſion, ſhe would keep them for herſelf and her heir, as her lawful inheritance; and that if the duke were in earneſt in his profeſſions of friendſhip to Brabant, he would prove it, by yielding up the town of Grave, which he unjuſtly detained.

The duke of Gueldres on hearing this anſwer, which was not very agreeable to him, was much piqued, but did not the leſs adhere to his plans. He now attempted to gain over to his intereſt the governor of thoſe caſtles, ſir John Groſſet, by purchaſe or otherwiſe. The knight was prudent and ſteady: he told thoſe who had been ſent ſecretly to treat with him, never again to mention the ſubject, for, were he to die for it, he would never act diſhonourably, nor be guilty of treaſon to his lawful ſovereign.

When the duke found he had not any hopes of ſucceeding with the governor, he (as I was informed) addreſſed himſelf to ſir Reginald d'Eſconvenort, and excited ſuch a hatred be-

tween

tween him and ſir John Groſſet, for a very trifling cauſe, that the knight was ſhortly after murdered in the plains, either by ſir Reginald, or by his people, or through an ambuſcade, to the great vexation of the ducheſs of Brabant and that country. The three caſtles were put under another governor by order of the ducheſs and her council.

Affairs remained ſome years in this ſtate; but their mutual hatred was privately kept up, as well for theſe caſtles as for the town of Grave. Thoſe of Gueldres that bordered on Brabant did as much miſchief as they could to their neighbours, more particularly the inhabitants of Grave, which is but four leagues diſtant from Bois le Duc, and a fine open country to ride over: they therefore harraſſed greatly the Brabanters near that part.

During the time theſe things were paſſing, the duke of Gueldres croſſed the ſea to England, to viſit his couſin king Richard, and his other relatives the dukes of Lancaſter, York and Gloceſter, who were then at home, and the great barons of England. They made him good cheer, for they were deſirous to ſee and make acquaintance with him, having before heard how much the duke was attached to England. In this journey, he entered into alliance with the king of England; and, although he had not hitherto received any thing from the king to induce him to become his liege man, he now accepted a penſion of one thouſand marcs on the king of England's treaſury, which, according

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to the value of the coin was equal to four thouſand francs ready money*.

He was adviſed to renew his claims on Brabant, and was promiſed to be effectually aſſiſted by England, that no loſs ſhould accrue to him. In return for which, he ſwore to be for ever loyal in his ſervices to England: all this he too readily entered into. When this treaty had been concluded, he took leave of the king and his barons, and returned to Gueldres, when he told the duke of Juliers what he had done, and how he had ſtrengthened himſelf by his alliance with England.

The duke of Juliers, who, from age, had more experience than his ſon, was not much rejoiced on hearing it, and ſaid,—'William, what you have done may be the cauſe that both you and I ſhall dearly pay for your viſit to England. Are you ignorant of the power of the duke of Burgundy, and that he has not his equal in this reſpect? He is the next heir to the duchy of Brabant, and how can you think of ſucceeding in any oppoſition to him, or of reſiſting ſo potent a prince?' 'How!' replied the duke of Gueldres, 'the more rich and powerful he is, the better to make war on. I had rather have for my enemy a rich man, who has large poſſeſſions, than a little baron from whom nothing can be gained: for one blow I receive, I wiſh to give ſix; beſides, the emperor of Germany is

* See the Fœdera, an. 10. Ricardi II. where the treaty is at length. The penſion was for life, of one thouſand pounds ſterling.

ſo much connected with England, that I may look for aſſiſtance from him ſhould there be occaſion.'

'By my faith, fair ſon William, you are mad; and more of your ſchemes will fall to the ground than will be accompliſhed.'

I will explain why the duke of Juliers thus checked his ſon, and doubted of the ſucceſs of his enterpriſes. The late king of France exerted himſelf much to gain friends in different parts: and, though he could not prevail on many to join him in his wars, yet, by gifts and other compliments, he kept them quiet, and by ſuch means acquired ſeveral friends in the empire and elſewhere. When the emperor had forgiven the duke of Juliers' conduct to the duke of Brabant, and the laſt, by obtaining his liberty, was reconciled to the duke of Juliers, he, at the deſire of the king of France, waited on him at Paris, where he was moſt kindly received. The king gave to him and his knights very rich preſents of jewels, to the great ſatisfaction of the duke. In this viſit the duke was preſented with Vierſon * and its lordſhips, which he held as a fief from the king, to whom he ſwore he would never bear arms againſt France. Vierſon was originally dependant on the counts de Blois, is ſituated between Blois and Berry, and may be worth about five hundred francs a year.

During the reign of Charles V. he truly kept his

* Vierſon,—a city of Berry, on the Cher, diocese of *Bourges*, twenty-two leagues from Orleans.

oath,

oath, and, as long as this king lived, neither bore arms himſelf, nor entered into any treaty with the enemies of France. When Charles VI. began his reign, he was ſo much embroiled with the wars with Flanders and England, that he could not attend to every thing. The duke of Juliers, not being ſummoned, did not renew his homage for Vierſon; and the duke of Berry, noticing this, ſeized the lands, which he ſaid were dependant on him, and thus deprived the counts of Blois of their rights. This, however, cauſed no quarrel between the families, for I ſaw them frequently together, and, indeed, from their connection it was right they ſhould be good friends; for Lewis, ſon of the duke of Berry, was married to the lady Mary, daughter of the count de Blois.

The duke of Juliers had thoughts of claiming the lands of Vierſon, until he found his ſon had ſo haſtily, and, as he thought, imprudently allied himſelf with England, which he imagined would never turn out to his advantage. He had therefore ſpoken to him in the manner I have related, when the duke of Gueldres returned from England; but he paid not any attention to it, and, as he was young and raſh, replied to his father, that he would not do otherwiſe than he had ſaid; and that he preferred war to peace, and war against the king of France to a conteſt with a poorer perſon.

CHAP XII.

THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT SENDS AMBASSADORS TO FRANCE FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUELDRES.—THEY ARRIVE AT THE SAME TIME THE DUKE'S CHALLENGE IS BROUGHT, AND RECEIVE FAVOURABLE ANSWERS.

THE duchess of Brabant, who resided at Brussels, was well informed of every thing that was passing, and that the duke of Gueldres menaced the Brabanters with war. She was fearful that he would put his threats in execution, and said,—'Ah, may God graciously pardon my deceased lord; for, had he been alive, the duke of Gueldres would not have dared to use the expressions I hear he has done; but, because I am a woman, and old, he wants to attack and make war on me.

The duchess assembled her council on the occasion; for she knew her opponent was of a hasty temper, and that action would soon follow his words. At the time this council was held, the duke of Gueldres had sent his defiance to the king of France, which had caused great slander in all countries where it had been told; for the duke was but a petty prince in comparison with others; and the tenor of this challenge was,

as I heard, written in ſuch imperious and coarſe language as aſtoniſhed all who ſaw it.

This challenge was ſpoken of variouſly, according as the different perſons to whom it was told were attached.

The council of the ducheſs, in anſwer to her when ſhe demanded their advice, ſaid,—'In the name of God, lady, what you aſk may be ſpeedily given. We adviſe, that you ſend ambaſſadors to the king of France and to the duke of Burgundy. You have a good opportunity; for the duke of Gueldres has ſent his defiance to the king of France and all his allies. Should he carry his threats into execution, and, as it is reported, make war on that kingdom, in conjunction with the English and Germans, he cannot gain a more convenient entrance into it, than through your duchy. It is right, therefore, the king and the duke of Burgundy be prepared, and that all your caſtles on the frontiers be well ſupplied with men at arms; for there is no enemy ſo contemptible, but that he ſhould be feared. We do not mean to ſay that againſt him alone, nor for what the Gueldrians may be able to do againſt us, we ſhould ſeek for aſſiſtance or allies: oh, no; but on account of the connections he may have formed with foreign countries, eſpecially with the Engliſh, in whoſe cauſe he is now arming, and the Germans, who are avaricious, and eager to make war on France for the wealth they hope to find there.'

The ducheſs replied, 'Your advice is good, and I will that attention be paid to it.' The

envoys to France were chosen from among the privy counsellors of Brabant, and were the lord de Bourgueval master of the household, sir John Opem, a most amiable knight, sir Nicholas de la Monnoye and John de Grave, a clerk. When their credential letters were drawn out and sealed, they left Brussels and took the road to Paris. At this time, however, the king and the duke of Burgundy were at Rouen, whither the ambassadors went.

On their arrival at Rouen, they waited first on the duke of Burgundy, who entertained them handsomely, as he knew them well, and shewed him their credential letters. The duke having perused them, at the proper hour led them to the king, who received them graciously, from his regard to their duchess.

The king, after reading their papers, said; 'What you request, demands consideration: keep near our fair uncle of Burgundy, and your business shall be attended to, and concluded as speedily as may be.' This answer was satisfactory to them, and, having taken leave of the king and the duke of Burgundy, they returned to their lodgings.

The king of France, his uncles and the lords of his council, had, at this moment, full employment, and were daily in council respecting different matters which required it. The challenge of the duke of Gueldres was not very agreeable; and they knew not the intentions of the duke of Brittany, from his strange conduct in regard to the constable of France. They had likewise

likewiſe heard he was buſy in providing all his towns and caſtles with ſtores and men at arms; and that his correſpondence was now more frequent than ever with the king of England and his two uncles: for the duke of Lancaſter was ſtill in Galicia. The council of France had, therefore, enough to do, to weigh well theſe matters; and were ſo much occupied on them, that the Brabanters waited ſome time for their anſwer.

At length the duke of Burgundy gave it them as follows: 'You will return to our fair aunt, and ſalute her many times in my name. Give her theſe letters from the king and from me; and tell her, that we conſider her affairs as our own, and deſire her not to be alarmed at any thing, for ſhe ſhall have ſpeedy aid; and tell her that the country of Brabant ſhall not, in any way, be hurt or damaged.' This anſwer was very agreeable to the ambaſſadors, who inſtantly returned to Paris, and thence to Bruſſels, and gave the ducheſs a detailed account of what had paſſed, and of the anſwer they had received, ſo that ſhe was perfectly contented.

CHAP. XIII.

CONCERNING THE RUMOURS OF THE SIGNS OF SANCTITY WHICH WERE MANIFESTED BY THE CARDINAL DE LUXEMBOURG AFTER HIS DEATH. —THE EXTRAORDINARY END OF THE KING OF NAVARRE.

ABOUT this period, there were many rumours, that the body of Saint Peter de Luxembourg, who had been a cardinal, ſhewed miraculous powers in the city of Avignon. This holy cardinal was the ſon of the lord Guy de Saint Paul, ſlain at the battle of Juliers. I muſt ſay, that the cardinal led a moſt holy and devout life, doing works agreeable to God; for he was courteous, modeſt, chaſte, and a great almſgiver. He kept from his church-preferments merely ſufficient for his maintenance, and gave all the reſt to the poor. He was the greater part of the day and night in prayer, and ſhunned all worldly vanities. His life was ſo devout that it pleaſed God to call him in his youth; and, inſtantly after his death, his body, which he had ordered to be buried in the common ſepulchre with the poor, performed miracles, for his whole life was full of humility, but it was interred in the chapel of St. Michael.

When the pope and cardinals perceived that miracles increaſed from this holy body, they ſent an account of them to the king of France, and

and to the elder brother of the ſaint, count Waleran de St. Paul, inviting him to come to Avignon. The count could not refuſe, and, when he went thither, preſented thoſe fine ſilver lamps which are now before his altar. It was wonderful the great faith that was in this ſaint, and the numbers who came thither when I was at Avignon; for by that city I returned from Foix, to witneſs this. His miracles and votaries daily multiplied, and it was ſaid he would be canonized; but I never heard more about it.

Since I have related the death of this holy cardinal, I will mention that of a different perſon, for I have not yet ſpoken of the death of a king who has ſupplied ample materials for many parts of this hiſtory. His actions, however, were the reverſe from thoſe of the preceding perſonage, for by them the realm of France was nearly deſtroyed. You will readily gueſs I mean the king of Navarre. It is a truth well known, that nothing is more certain than death. I repeat it becauſe the king of Navarre, when he died, did not think his end ſo near. Had he ſuppoſed it, he probably would have taken more care of himſelf. He reſided in the city of Pampeluna, and took it into his head that he would raiſe two hundred thouſand florins by a tax on his country. His council dared not contradict him, for he was a cruel man to all who did ſo.

The principal inhabitants of the great towns were ſummoned, and, fearful of diſobeying, they came. When all were aſſembled in the palace, the king himſelf, who was a ſubtle and eloquent

man,

man, explained to them the reaſons why he wanted money; and that two hundred thouſand florins muſt be raiſed from the country, in ſuch wiſe that the rich ſhould pay ten francs each, the middling ranks five, and the poor one franc. This demand much aſtoniſhed his audience; for the preceding year there had been a battle in Navarre, which had cauſed a tax to be laid for one hundred thouſand florins; he had, beſide, in the ſame year, married his daughter, the lady Jane, to the duke of Brittany, and there were large arrears of the tax for her dower yet unpaid.

The king having demanded their anſwer, they requeſted ſome time to conſult together: he allowed them fifteen days, when they were all to meet again in the ſame place, that is to ſay, thoſe who had come from the cities and towns; on which they departed. When news of this heavy tax was known, the whole country was in conſternation. At the end of the fifteen days, they aſſembled again at Pampeluna, and the deputies from the principal towns amounted to about ſixty perſons. The king would hear their anſwer in perſon, and he ordered them to make it in a large orchard, which was diſtant from the palace, and incloſed with high walls.

In giving their anſwer, they explained how impoſſible it was for the country to pay this new tax from the poverty of the kingdom, and from the arrears of former taxes being ſtill unpaid. They were unanimous in this declaration, and begged of him, for God's ſake, to have pity on them,

them, for the country could not in truth bear any additional tax.

When the king of Navarre found he had not any hopes of ſucceſs, he was ſilent and diſcontented: on leaving them, he ſaid, 'You have been badly adviſed: conſult together again:' and then went away, followed by his counſel. The deputies were ſhut up in this orchard, with orders for no one to be ſuffered to go out of it, and very little meat or drink to be given them. They remained thus in great fear of their lives, and none dared open their lips. It may be ſuppoſed he ſucceeded at laſt in his plan; for he beheaded three of the moſt determined in their oppoſition, to frighten the others to his will.

At this moment an extraordinary event happened at Pampeluna, which ſeemed a judgment from God. I will relate it, as ſeveral perſons from Pampeluna told it me at Foix, which is but three days journey off.

It was reported, that the king of Navarre was fond of women, and had at this time a very handſome lady for his miſtreſs, with whom he occaſionally amuſed himſelf, for he had been long a widower. Having paſſed a night with her, he returned to his own chamber, ſhivering with cold, and ſaid to one of his valets, 'Prepare my bed, for I want to lie down and repoſe myſelf a little.' When ready, he undreſſed himſelf and went to bed; but he was no ſooner laid down than he began to ſhake, and could not get warm. He was of a great age, about ſixty, and accuſtomed to have his bed well warmed with heated

air

dir to make him ſweat; and this practice he had long continued without any viſible harm. He ordered his ſervants to warm the bed as uſual; but this time, either by the will of God or the devil, it turned out very unfortunate, for the flames ſome how ſet fire to the ſheets, and it could not be extinguiſhed before they were deſtroyed, and the king, who was wrapped up in them, horridly burnt as far as his navel. He did not inſtantly die, but lingered on, in great pain and miſery, fifteen days; for neither ſurgeon nor phyſician could apply any remedies to prevent his death. Such was the end of the king of Navarre, which, however, freed his poor ſubjects from the tax he would have laid on them. His ſon Charles was a young, handſome and gallant knight: he was acknowledged king of Navarre by all his ſubjects, and, ſoon after the obſequies of his father, was crowned in the city of Pampeluna.*

CHAP.

* 'Charles king of Navarre died in 1387, aged 55 years. His death was worthy of his life. He was wrapped up in cloths that had been dipped in ſpirit of wine and ſulphur to reanimate the chill in his limbs, cauſed by his debaucheries, and to cure his leproſy. By ſome accident, they caught fire, as they were ſewing them about him, and burnt the fleſh off his bones. It is thus that almoſt all the French hiſtorians relate the death of Charles; but in the letter of the biſhop of Dax, his principal miniſter, to queen Blanche, the ſiſter of this prince, and widow of Philip de Valois, there is not one word ſaid of this horrid accident, but only of the great pains he ſuffered in his laſt illness, and the reſignation with which he bore them. Voltaire pretends that Charles was not worſe than

CHAP. XIV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY BESIEGES VENTADOUR.*

YOU have before read of the treaties the count d'Armagnac and the dauphin of Auvergne attempted to make with the captains of the free companies who held caſtles and forts in Auvergne, the Gevaudan, and Limouſin, and were at war with their neighbours. Many of them were inclined to accept the terms offered, for they thought they had ſufficiently plundered France, and wiſhed to do the ſame elſewhere. The count d'Armagnac promiſed to lead them

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than many other princes. Fereras had ſaid before him, that the French ſirnamed him Charles the Bad, on account of the troubles he had fomented in the kingdom; but that, if his actions were examined, he would be found not ſufficiently wicked to deſerve ſuch a ſirname. It is, however, preciſely his actions that have cauſed it. He was, ſays father Daniel, treacherous, revengeful, cruel, and the ſole cauſe of the ruin of France. Father Daniel ſpeaks exactly like Mariana, who has painted with energy his cruelties, his infamous debaucheries, and his treaſons. Our beſt hiſtorians have done the ſame. But it is one of the follies of our age to attempt the re-eſtabliſhment of the moſt worthleſs characters, and to cry down thoſe reputations that have been the moſt exalted.

Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique.

For more of Charles de Navarre, ſee les Memoires de l'Académie.

* Ventadour,—a caſtle in the dioceſe of Limoges.

into

into Lombardy; but the count de Foix, whom it was not eaſy to deceive, imagined that was not his intention, and made ſecret inquiries as to the progreſs of the buſineſs, and whither the men at arms were to march on quitting their ſtrong holds. The common report was, that they ſtill continued their courſes, for the men of the country ſo related it to him. Upon hearing this, he ſhook his head, and ſaid,—'Such men at arms will not be trifled with. The count d'Armagnac and his brother Bernard are young, and I know they neither love me nor my country: theſe men at arms, therefore, may perchance fall on me, unleſs I ſhall take proper order to guard againſt them. The proverb ſays, 'Long proviſion beforehand maketh ſure poſſeſſion.'

The count de Foix was not, in truth, wrong in his conjectures, as appearances at one time ſhewed, which I ſhall relate, if I carry my hiſtory to that length.

You have heard how that Breton, Geoffry Têtenoir, had long held the caſtle of Ventadour, on the borders of Auvergne and the Bourbonois, and had refuſed to ſurrender for any money that had been offered him. He conſidered this caſtle as his own inheritance, and had forced all the ſurrounding country to enter into compoſition with him to avoid being plundered. By this means every one could labour the ground at their pleaſure, and he was enabled to keep the ſtate of a great baron. He was a cruel man, and very ferocious in his anger, minding no more killing a man than a beaſt. You muſt know, that when the

the tax for the redemption of theſe caſtles was firſt raiſed, thoſe in Auvergne, imagining that Ventadour would be ſurrendered to the duke of Berry, and the country delivered from the oppreſſions of the garriſon, very cheerfully paid their quota. But when they ſaw that of thoſe garriſons who continued their inroads, that of Ventadour was the moſt daring, they were very diſconſolate, and conſidered the tax that had been raiſed as thrown away. They declared, that until the garriſon of Ventadour was prevented from overrunning the country, they would never pay one farthing of any future tax.

This was carried to the duke of Berry, who was lieutenant of Limouſin, Gevaudan and Auvergne, and he declared to his council, that thoſe who had made ſuch declaration were in the right, and that the promiſes that had been held out were badly kept, by their not having ſo cloſely beſieged the place, to prevent the garriſon ſallying forth.

The duke then ordered that four hundred ſpears ſhould be collected, and paid by the country, and placed under the command of ſir William de Lignac and ſir John Bonne-lance, a courteous and valiant knight from the Bourbonois, for them to inveſt Ventadour completely on all ſides with block-houſes.

Theſe knights and men at arms laid their ſiege as cloſely as they could to the caſtle, and erected four block-houſes: they alſo had large trenches cut by the peaſants, and every obſtruction thrown acroſs the roads they uſed to take, ſo that the

garriſon

garriſon was completely ſhut in. Geoffry, however, was indifferent to this; for he knew he had proviſion and ſtores to laſt for ſeven years, and that his caſtle was ſo ſtrongly placed upon a rock that it could not be taken by ſtorm; and, notwithſtanding theſe block-houſes, and this ſuppoſed complete blockade, he, at times, with ſome of his companions, made ſallies through a poſtern that opened between two hidden rocks, and overran the country in ſearch of wealthy priſoners. They never brought any thing beſide with them to the caſtle, on account of the difficulty of the paſſes. This opening could not be cloſed, and, to the ſurpriſe of the country, they were found abroad ſeven leagues diſtant: if they were by accident purſued, and had once regained their mountains, though the chace laſted for three leagues, they conſidered themſelves as ſecure as if in their fort. This manner of harraſſing the country was long continued; and the ſiege of the caſtle, in the manner I have related, laſted for more than a year: by it the country was ſaved the large ſums they uſed to pay as compoſition-money. We will, for the preſent, leave Ventadour, and, by way of variety, ſpeak of other matters.

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CHAP. XV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS FOUR HUNDRED SPEARS TO THE DUCHESS OF BRABANT.—THEY SURPRISE AND BURN THE TOWN OF SEAULLE IN GUELDRES.

THE duke of Burgundy was not forgetful of his promiſe to his aunt, the ducheſs of Brabant. He aſſembled a body of four hundred good men at arms, from Burgundy and other parts, and appointed two knights for their commanders: the one was ſir William de la Trimouille, a Burgundian; the other, ſir Gervais de Merande, a German: and ſaid to them,—'You will conduct theſe men at arms to that part of the frontiers of Brabant and Gueldres our fair aunt and her council have fixed on, and make a ſevere war on her enemy, for ſuch are our commands.' The knights replied, they were ready and willing to obey his orders.

When all their ſtores and men were aſſembled, they ſet out for Brabant, and, having entered the duchy of Luxembourg, ſent to inform the ducheſs of their coming. The marſhal of Brabant went to meet and conduct them, and, by the directions of the council, quartered them in the three caſtles the duke of Gueldres claimed, of which they now formed the garriſon, and,

being

being on the enemy's land, went forth daily in hopes to meet them.

The duke of Gueldres, perceiving hoſtilities were begun, reinforced all his towns and caſtles, and made every preparation to withſtand his opponents. Sir William de la Trimouille, deſirous to gain renown, and to do ſome act that ſhould make it known he was in the country, caſt his eyes on a town of Gueldres, about four leagues from the caſtle wherein he was, in hopes to gain it: it was called Seaulle. Having ſecretly opened his mind to ſir Gervais de Merande, and explained his intentions, he agreed to accompany him; for he was equally anxious for deeds of arms. Having collected men from the different garriſons, they marched off at midnight, at a briſk trot, under the care of able guides, who brought them to Seaulle near the point of day. They then halted, and formed another diſpoſition, which, as it was told me, was as follows: ſir Gervais, with only thirty lances, was to leave the main body, and, if poſſible, to gain and keep the gate, until ſir William ſhould arrive with the remainder; for if the whole had advanced, an alarm might have been given, but ſo few would poſſibly be taken for a party whom the duke of Gueldres had ſent to reinforce the place, or ſome of his men who were riding from one town to another.

As they had planned, ſo was it executed: ſir Gervais left the army with thirty German ſpears, and rode towards the town. He paſſed indeed many people on his road thither; for it was market-day,

ket-day, and, as he paſſed, ſaluted them in German, which made them all ſuppoſe they were their countrymen, attached to the duke of Gueldres, and going to the garriſon. Sir Gervais rode on until he came to the gate, which he found wide open and ſlightly guarded: indeed it was ſo early, that few were out of bed. They there halted, and were ſcarcely maſters of the gate, when ſir William de la Trimouille, with the main body, came up full gallop, and entered the town, ſhouting their cry.

Thus was the town won without any defence being made: the garriſon never imagined the French would have been ſo enterpriſing, and the greater part were ſtill in bed. It was on the Martinmas eve this deed was done. Three days before, an Engliſh knight had entered the town with ten ſpears and thirty archers, whom the king of England had ſent thither. The knight's name was ſir William Fikaoul*; and, at the moment of the firſt noiſe and buſtle, he was getting out of his bed. Hearing the town was taken, he aſked by whom. He was told by Bretons. 'Ha!' ſaid he, 'Bretons are wicked fellows: they will pillage and burn the town, and then leave it: whoſe cry have they?' 'In the name of God,' replied a knight, 'they cry Trimouille!'

Sir William Fikaoul, upon this, armed himſelf, and made his men do the ſame, and barricade his houſe, to ſee if any would come to his reſcue, but in vain; for every one was ſo frightened, they

* Fikaoul. Verard has Filzraoul, and my MS. Fitz-Paul. Lord Berners has the ſame as in the text.

were flying in all directions, ſome for the church, others to eſcape by an oppoſite gate to that the enemy had entered, abandoning all they poſſeſſed.

The French ſet fire to the town to alarm others at a diſtance, but there were many houſes of ſtone and brick which could not be affected by it: however, the greater part was burnt down and pillaged, for nothing worth taking was left; and they carried away ſome of the richeſt inhabitants priſoners.

The Engliſh knight was taken doing his duty. When he ſaw all was loſt, he ordered his houſe to be cleared of the barricades; for he was fearful of fire, as his hall was full of ſmoke, and, placing himſelf and men in front, fought very valiantly, but at length was made priſoner by ſir William de la Trimouille: his men were likewiſe taken, for few were ſlain. When the French had done all they liſted at Seaulle, in Gueldres, and their ſervants had packed up the plunder, they departed, for it would have been folly to have remained longer, and marched to their different garriſons.

Such was the ſucceſs of this firſt blow the duke of Gueldres received: he was much vexed when he heard of his loſs, and haſtened thither with a large body of men at arms, hoping to find the French ſtill there. He ſtrengthened and repaired the town, and placed therein a garriſon, who were more diligent in guarding it than the preceding one had been. Thus it happens in war; ſometimes one ſide loſes, and ſometimes another.

The

The ducheſs of Brabant was highly pleaſed with the ſucceſs of ſir William de la Trimouille and ſir Gervais de Merande, and they acquired much renown for it throughout the country. It was the common talk in Brabant, that in the courſe of the enſuing ſummer, they would renew the attack, and keep poſſeſſion of it, for they ſhould then have a ſufficient force.

The duke of Burgundy was well pleaſed to hear ſuch ſatisfactory accounts of the good conduct of thoſe he had ſent to Brabant; and, to encourage them to perſevere, he frequently wrote to his knight ſir William de la Trimouille. They guarded ſo well the caſtles on the frontier, that no loſs happened; and the enemy was more careful in regard to their towns than they had been before the capture of Seaulle.

I will now relate an exploit of Perrot le Béarnois in Auvergne, and detail the whole hiſtory of it at length.

CHAP. XVI.

GERONNET DE MAUDURANT, ONE OF THE CAPTAINS OF PERROT LE BEARNOIS, HAVING BEEN MADE PRISONER BY JOHN BONNE-LANCE, AT MONTFERRANT IN AUVERGNE, FINDS MEANS, AFTER HIS RANSOM WAS PAID, TO PUT LE BEARNOIS IN POSSESSION OF MONTFERRANT.

THIS ſame year, about the middle of May, forty bold companions ſet out from Chaluçet*, in the poſſeſſion of Perrot le Béarnois, in Limouſin, to ſeek adventures in Auvergne, under the command of a ſquire from Gaſcony called Geronnet de Maudurant, an able man at arms. On account of the dread this country and the borders of the Bourbonois had of theſe people, the duke of Bourbon had appointed, for its defence, one of his knights, a valiant man at arms, called ſir John Bonne-lance, who was courteous, amorous, and eager to diſplay his courage. When he heard theſe companions were abroad, he aſked how many they might be: and when they ſaid, 'About forty,' he replied, 'As for forty lances, we do not fear that number: I will take as many to meet them.'

He then departed from the place where he had heard of this excurſion, but his greater force was before Ventadour, and collected about forty or fifty of his men at arms that were diſperſed on the borders of Limouſin, Auvergne, and the

* Chaluçet,—election of Limoges, near Pierre-buffiere.

Bourbonois,

Bourbonois, for he was very deſirous to perform ſome deed of arms. He had with him ſir Lewis d'Ambiere, ſir Lewis d'Abton, and the lord de St. Obiſe. They took the field without following any particular road, for they were well acquainted with the country, and came to a paſs through which they imagined the enemy muſt croſs, and no where elſe, on account of the mountains, and a river which is wide and deep from the melting of the ſnow.

They had not been there half an hour when the enemy appeared, no way ſuſpecting this meeting. Bonne-lance and his party, with their ſpears in their reſts, charged them, ſhouting their cry as they were deſcending the mountain on foot. When they found they muſt fight, they put a good countenance on it, and prepared for their defence: Geronnet, who was a ſtout ſquire, ſet them the example. Many were, at the firſt onſet, beat down on both ſides; but, to ſay the truth, the French were by far better men at arms than theſe adventurers, which they ſhewed, for not one turned his back but the ſervants, who by flight ſaved themſelves while their maſters were fighting. Two and twenty were made priſoners, and sixteen left dead on the field: their leader ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to Bonne-lance.

The victorious party ſet out on their return, carrying their priſoners with them. On the road, Bonne-lance recollected that, about a month ago, when at Montferrant in Auvergne, he had been well received by the ladies and damſels,

and

and that, as they were amusing themſelves, they ſaid to him, 'Fair brother Bonne-lance, you are often in the field, and muſt at times meet your enemies.' A lady, who was much in his good graces, added,—'I am ſure you have frequent engagements with them, and I ſay ſo becauſe I ſhould like to ſee an Engliſhman. I have often heard, from a ſquire of this country with whom you are well acquainted, of the name of Gourdines, that they are determined men at arms, and as expert as any in this country. Indeed, they prove it by their gallantry, and by taking from us towns and caſtles, and keeping poſſeſſion of them.' 'By God, fair lady,' replied Bonne-lance, 'if I have the good fortune to make one of them my priſoner, you ſhall ſee him.' 'Many thanks,' anſwered the lady.

When Bonne-lance remembered this, he had taken the road to Clermont in Auvergne, as the engagement had been hard by; but he quitted it, and followed that to Montferrant, which lay about one league off on the left hand.

The inhabitants of Montferrant were in high ſpirits at the ſucceſs of Bonne-lance over theſe adventurers, and gave him a hearty welcome.

When he and his people had diſmounted at the hôtel, they diſarmed and took their eaſe. The ladies and damſels aſſembled to entertain and feaſt Bonne-lance, whom they came twenty times to ſee. He gallantly received them, for he was a prudent knight, and addreſſing himſelf to the lady who was ſo anxious to ſee an Engliſhman, ſaid,—'Lady, I am come to acquit myſelf of the

the promiſe I made you about a month ago, that if I ſhould, by good fortune, take an Engliſhman priſoner, I would ſhew him to you. Through the grace of God, I have this day fallen in with a party of very valiant ones; but, although they gave us enough to do, the field is ours. They were not indeed real Engliſhmen, but Gaſcons who wage war under that name, and come from Béarn and upper Gaſcony. You may view them at your leiſure; for, out of my love to you, I ſhall leave them in this town until they have paid me their ranſom.'

The ladies laughed, turned the matter into merriment, and ſaid, they were obliged to him. When they departed, he accompanied them, and remained in Montferrant for three days amuſing himſelf with the ladies and damſels. Bonnelance, during his ſtay, gave good entertainment to Maudurant and his companions, as he ſaw they were poor, but bold fellows in the field; it would have been better for the town had he killed or drowned them than to have left them there.

When he was going away, he ſaid to Geronnet, 'You will remain here as hoſtage for your companions, who are to ſeek your ranſom; and, when you ſhall be prepared to pay, I have ordered a perſon to receive it for me; and, the moment you have acquitted yourſelf to me, you may depart, for I have left inſtructions that you may meet with no impediment. Remember, Geronnet, that I have treated you handſomely; and, if any of our men fall into your hands, do you treat them in like manner.' 'On my faith,' replied

replied Geronnet, 'my ſair lord and maſter, that I will cheerfully do, for we are bounden to it by your generous conduct.'

Bonne-lance returned to the ſiege of Ventadour, and twelve of his priſoners remained in Montferrant. The ten others, according to agreement, returned to Chaluçet, to ſeek, from Perrot le Béarnois, two-and-twenty hundred francs; for this was the ſum their ranſoms had been fixed at. The twelve in Montferrant were lodged in a handſome houſe, and lived at much expenſe. They were not ſtrictly watched; and, during the fifteen days they ſtaid, they went about the town to amuſe themſelves, and made ſuch obſervations on the ſtate of it as coſt it afterwards one hundred thouſand francs.

When the captain of Chaluçet heard of the ill ſucceſs of Geronnet de Maudurant, and that he and his companions had been defeated by ſir John Bonne-lance, he was very indifferent about it, and replied to thoſe who had brought him the news, —'You are come hither to ſeek for money to pay his and your ranſoms: are you not?' 'Yes,' they replied, 'for gain is not always to be looked for.' 'I know nothing of gain or loſs,' anſwered the captain; 'but this I know, you will get nothing from me. I did not ſend you on this excurſion: it was your own free election to ſeek an adventure. Send to, or tell your companions when you ſee them, that adventure muſt deliver them. Do you ſuppoſe that I will thus ſpend my money? No, my friends, that I will not, by my faith. I can always have men enough, *who will* make more prudent excurſions than ye

have

have done. I will not, therefore, ranſom any man belonging to me, unleſs he be taken when in my company.' This was all the anſwer they could get reſpecting Geronnet's ranſom.

They conſulted together, and thought it would be right to ſend three of them to give Geronnet information of this, that he might conſider the matter. The three who were ſent, paſſing without the walls of Clermont, gave their horſes water at the mill brook, which runs hard by. They remained ſome time in the brook obſerving the walls of Clermont, and noticing they were not too high to be ſcaled. 'By the head of Saint Anthony,' ſaid they among themſelves, 'this town may be eaſily taken: if we come here ſome night, we may have it, provided the guard is not very ſtrong.' They then added, in their Gaſcon dialect, 'We will bargain for it now, and another time buy it: one cannot bargain and buy in the ſame day.' They then paſſed on, and arrived at Montferrant, where they found Geronnet and their companions. They related to them, word for word, all that had paſſed between them and Perrot le Béarnois, which, as they knew not where elſe to ſeek for money to pay their ranſoms, vexed them exceedingly, and for a day and night they were outrageous at his conduct.

Geronnet having calmly conſidered the matter, ſaid to thoſe who had come from Chaluçet,—'Brother-ſoldiers, return to our captain, and tell him from me, that ever ſince I have been under his command, I have loyally and faithfully ſerved him,

him, and, if he pleaſes, will continue to do ſo; and let him know, that if I ſhall be forced to turn to the French to obtain my liberty, he will not gain by it. I ſhall, however, delay doing this as long as I can; and it will be always againſt my own inclinations. Tell him alſo, that if he will pay our ranſoms, I will, within one month after our deliverance, conduct him to ſuch a place, that it will be his own fault, if he does not gain one hundred thouſand francs from it.'

The three companions returned to Perrot, and punctually gave him the meſſage that Geronnet had charged them with. On hearing it, he muſed a while, and ſaid, 'It may be ſo: I will ſpeedily give him his liberty.' He ordered a large coffer to be opened, that contained upwards of forty thouſand francs, money acquired by pillage you muſt underſtand, and not from the rents of his eſtate in Béarn; for the town wherein he was born, and always reſided before he left Béarn, has but twelve houſes, and belongs to the count de Foix. The name of it is Dadam, three leagues from Orthès.

Perrot le Béarnois had counted out before him two-and-twenty hundred francs, and one hundred for their expenſes, which he put into a purſe, and, calling to him the three companions who had returned from Montferrant, ſaid,—'I give you three-and-twenty hundred francs: a friend in need is a friend indeed: I ſhall riſk them for Geronnet's freedom: he is able to regain for me, if he pleaſes, as much again, if not more.'

The companions took the money and ſet out again

again for Montferrant, which was fourteen long leagues diſtant; but they had very good paſſ-ports, which permitted them to paſs and repaſs. Geronnet, on learning that they had returned with the money, was much pleaſed: he ſent for thoſe to whom ſir John Bonne-lance had directed him to pay it, and ſaid to them,—'Count it: you will find the purſe contains two thouſand two hundred francs, which is all we are to give you.' After this, he paid liberally, and to the ſatisfaction of all, the expenſes they had been at. When this was done, Geronnet borrowed and hired horſes and men to conduct them to Chaluçet, ſir John Bonne-lance having received a certificate of the ranſom being paid.

I am ignorant whether ſir John Bonne-lance ſent for this money or left it in Montferrant, truſting to the ſtrength of the place; for ſir Peter de Giac, at that time chancellor of France, had there depoſited his wealth, of which he loſt the whole, or at leaſt as much as could be diſcovered, according to what you will hear told.

When Geronnet de Maudurant returned to Chaluçet, his companions gladly received him, and made him good cheer. After three or four days, Perrot le Béarnois called him and ſaid,—'Geronnet, you are obliged to the fair offers you ſent me, for your freedom, and to them alone; for you know, I was not any way bound to pay your ranſom, when taken in excurſions made without my orders: now, keep your word, and prove the truth of your offer; otherwiſe we ſhall be

be on bad terms, and you will incur my ſerious anger: for know that I have not learnt to loſe, but to win.'

'Captain,' replied Geronnet, 'you have reaſon to ſay ſo; and I now offer to put you in poſſeſſion of Montferrant within fifteen days, if you be willing to undertake it. In this town there is great wealth and wherewithal to plunder; for, beſides its riches in ſilk and merchandiſe, many of the inhabitants have much money. Sir Peter de Giac, chancellor of France, who knows well where to ſeek for money, has depoſited, as I have been informed, a very large ſum in this town of Montferrant; and I muſt ſay, it is the weakeſt and worſt guarded town in the realm: this is the offer I ſent you, and the promiſe I entered into.

'In God's name,' anſwered Perrot, 'it is well ſaid, and I accept it: I will ſecretly make preparations: you know all the outlets of the town: but will it require many men?' 'Three or four hundred ſpears,' ſaid Geronnet, 'will do the buſineſs; for they do not ſeem people likely to make any great reſiſtance.' 'Well, by God,' replied Perrot, 'I will undertake it, and make it known to the captains of the forts that are near us, and when we be all aſſembled, will march thither.'

In conſequence, Perrot le Béarnois got himſelf in readineſs, and ſent information of his intentions to the captains of the forts in the neighbourhood, and fixed their rendezvous at the caſtle

caſtle of Donzac*, in the biſhoprick of Clermont, that was not far diſtant from Montferrant: Olim Barbe, a Gaſcon, and famous pillager, was the captain of it. The companions from ſeven forts attached to the Engliſh met, on the appointed day, at Donzac, and were upwards of four hundred lances, well mounted, whence they had only ſix leagues to ride to Montferrant. The firſt captain who arrived was Perrot le Béarnois, to ſhew he was the chief of the expedition, and to conſult with the other leaders before the whole came thither, and lay their plans according to the information which had been given by Geronnet de Maudurant, and as to the time he had fixed for their coming to the town.

Geronnet, with eleven companions, dreſſed themſelves in coats of friſe, like to traders, and each leading a horſe well laden, according to the cuſtom of the country, ſet out from Donzac before day, conducting their horſes on the road, as carriers: they arrived about noon in the town of Montferrant. No one made any inquiries who they were, never ſuſpecting them to be otherwiſe than traders or carriers, as their dreſſes ſhewed, and ſuppoſing that they were come to purchaſe draperies and linens at the fair; for they had travelled, they ſaid, from beyond Montpelier for this purpoſe; and already much merchandiſe had arrived from the neighbouring towns.

* Donzac, a village in Armagnac, dioceſe and generality of Auch.

Geronnet carried his company to the crown Inn, where, having put their horſes in a ſtable, they choſe a handſome apartment for themſelves, where they remained in quiet, not venturing abroad, in the town, leſt their plan might be diſcovered, but thought only of enjoying themſelves, as they intended others ſhould pay their reckoning.

Towards evening, they took a great deal of care of their horſes, and gave the hoſt, hoſteſs, and ſervants to underſtand, as they had come afar off, it was neceſſary they ſhould be well attended to. They called ſo loudly for candles, they could not ſatisfy them; and would not go to bed, but kept drinking and roaring in their chamber. The hoſt and hoſteſs, noticing the merry life they led, and not having the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of them, went to bed.

I will now return to Perrot le Béarnois and his companions. This ſame day, towards evening, they left Donzac, under the command of ſeven captains. Perrot le Béarnois was the chief, then the bourg de Copane, whoſe name was Arnaudon, the bourg Anglois, le bourg Carlat, Apton Seighin, Olim Barbe, and Bernadon des Iſles: there was alſo with them a grand pillager from Béarn, called the lord de Lance-plaine. It was from him and the bourg de Copane I learnt all this buſineſs, and the manner of its being undertaken, after Candlemas, when the nights are long and cold. The weather this night was ſo ſevere, with wind and rain, that the captain of the guard would not leave his houſe, but ſent

his ſon, a boy about ſixteen years old, to examine the ſtate of the guard. On his arrival, between the outward and inward gate, he found four old men, almoſt frozen with cold, who ſaid to him, 'Take from each of us a halfpenny, and allow us to go and warm ourſelves.' The youth was eager for the money, which he took, and ſuffered the guard to go home.

Geronnet or ſome of his people were conſtantly on the watch at the gate of the Crown, for the relief of the guard. Obſerving the youth return, and the guard with him, they ſaid,—'Things go well: it will be a good night for us: there are none in the town but thoſe who are now in bed, and, as the guard is diſmiſſed, we have nothing to fear.'

Perrot and his companions were making all the haſte they could; but they were obliged to paſs under the walls of Clermont. When within one league of that place, they met Amerigot Marcel, governor of Aloſe, near St. Flour, with about one hundred ſpears. When they were known to each other, there was much joy; and they mutually aſked whither they were going in ſuch bad weather, and what were the objects of their being abroad. Amerigot Marcel ſaid,—'I come from my caſtle of Aloſe, and am going to Carlat.' 'In God's name,' replied the two captains of Carlat, the bourg Anglois, and the bourg de Copane, 'here we are, if you have any thing to ſay to us. Do you want any thing?' 'Yes,' ſaid he: 'you have ſome priſoners who belong to the dauphin d'Auvergne,

and

and you know he is in treaty with us through the count d'Armagnac. I wiſh, therefore, to have thoſe priſoners in exchange for ſome others who are in my fort, as I have been earneſtly requeſted to get them by the lady-dauphin, and ſhe is ſo good a lady, one cannot refuſe her any thing.'

The bourg de Copane replied,—'Amerigot, you are indeed bounden to oblige this lady, for you had from her, three years ago, five thouſand francs of her money for the ranſom of the caſtle of Mercier. Where is now the lord dauphin!" 'They tell me,' ſays Amerigot, 'that he is at Paris, negotiating the treaties you know we have engaged in with him and the count d'Armagnac.' 'Come with us,' ſaid Perrot le Béarnois, 'and leave all theſe things: you will gain by it, for you ſhall have a ſhare of our booty.' 'Whither are you going?' aſked Amerigot. 'By my faith, brother-ſoldier, we are going ſtraight to Montferrant, as that town is to be delivered to me this night.' Amerigot replied, —'Perrot, what you are about is very wrong; for you know we have entered into a treaty with the count d'Armagnac and this country, which, on that account, thinks itſelf in a perfect ſtate of ſecurity. You will act indeed very ill, if you execute what you have ſaid, and by it break off all our treaties.' 'On my troth, companion, I will never keep any treaty,' ſaid Perrot, 'as long as I am maſter of the field, for we muſt live. Come with us, for you have nothing

nothing to do at Carlat, as the captains are here, and thoſe they have left behind will never give you admittance into the fort.'

'With you,' replied Amerigot, 'I will not go, but, ſince things are thus, return to my own caſtle.' The parties then ſeparated, and Perrot continued his road toward Clermont and Montferrant. When they were below Clermont, they ſuddenly halted, for a new thought had ſtruck ſome of them from what the Gaſcons told who had been backwards and forwards to Chaluçet from Montferrant. They ſaid to the captains who were collected together,—'This city of Clermont is large and rich, and as eaſy to be taken as Montferrant: ſince we have ladders with us, let us ſcale the walls: we ſhall gain more than at Montferrant.'—On hearing this, they had almoſt reſolved to put it into execution; but their captains, having conſidered it, ſaid,—'Clermont is a ſtrong town, populous, and well provided with arms: if once we alarm them, they will collect together and defend themſelves. There is not a doubt of our having the worſt of it; and if we be repulſed, and our horſes taken or loſt, we ſhall be diſabled from advancing any farther. We are at a diſtance from our caſtles: the country will riſe againſt us: we ſhall be purſued, and run the greateſt hazard of loſs of life or liberty. It will be more adviſeable to continue our road, and finiſh what had been firſt fixed on, than to attempt any new exploit that may coſt us too dear.'

This advice was followed, and not one word more ſaid on the ſubject. They paſſed Clermont

as quietly and quickly as they could, and, on the point of eleven o'clock, came before Montferrant. They ſuddenly halted, when they perceived the town about two bow-ſhots off, and Perrot ſaid,— 'We are now at Montferrant: our people muſt be within it. Do you wait here, and I will go by theſe ditches to ſee if I can learn any thing of Geronnet, who has brought us hither; and do not you ſtir until I return.' 'Go,' replied his companions: 'we will wait for you.'

On this, Perrot le Béarnois, with three others, went away; but it was ſo very dark, they could not ſee the length of an acre, and it rained, ſnowed and blew moſt unmercifully. Geronnet was at this hour on the walls, impatiently liſtening to hear of the arrival of his friends. He looked down, and ſaw, as he thought, the ſhadows of men entering the ditches: on this he began to whiſtle. He was heard by Perrot, who advanced more into the ditch, for there was no water in it on that ſide; and Geronnet aſked, 'Who is there?' Perrot knew him from his Gaſcon pronunciation, and ſaid, 'I am Perrot le Béarnois: is it thou, Geronnet?' 'Yes,' replied he: 'if you will make yourſelf ready, and advance your men, you ſhall enter the town at this place: we cannot fail of ſucceſs, for the inhabitants are all in bed.' 'At this place!' ſaid Perrot, 'God forbid: I will never enter that way; and, if I do at all, it ſhall be through the gate.' 'Then you will not enter at all,' replied Geronnet, in a paſſion. 'On my troth, Perrot, it is not in my power: come hither with your

rope-ladders, and none will attempt to oppoſe your entrance.' 'Liſten to me, Geronnet,' ſaid Perrot: 'thou haſt promiſed to give me entrance into this town; and, according to thy engagement, I will enter it no other way than by the gate.' 'I cannot help it,' ſaid Geronnet, 'for it is impoſſible to enter by the gate, as it is cloſed and guarded, although the men may be aſleep.'

While they were thus diſputing, ſome of Perrot's men came near the ditch to hear if any body were ſtirring. Near to where they were, was a ſmall inſulated houſe, adjoining the walls, in which lived a poor taylor, who, having been hard at work until that hour, was going to bed. As the wind carried the ſounds of their voices, and as perſons hear better in the night than in the day-time, he fancied he heard ſome loud talking on the bulwarks. He left his houſe, and, advancing on the walls, ſaw Perrot's men walking about; on which he cried out, 'Treaſon!' when one of Geronnet's companions, ſeizing him by the throat, ſaid, 'If thou uttereſt another word, thou art a dead man.' On this, fearing to be murdered, he was ſilent, and Geronnet, turning towards them, ſaid,—Do not kill the fellow, for he comes ſo opportunely, it muſt be through the mercy of God that he is ſent, ſince by his means we shall completely ſucceed in our enterpriſe.' Then addreſſing himſelf to Perrot, he added,—'Do you return to your men; and, when you ſhall hear the inner gate open, do you attack the outward one with axes to gain admittance.' He then told him the uſe he meant

to make of the taylor. Perrot went to his men, and related to them all you have heard. When he was gone, Geronnet ſaid to the taylor, 'If thou doſt not promiſe to do all I ſhall order thee, thou art inſtantly a dead man.' 'And what do you want me to do?' I want thee to go with me to the gate of the town, and awaken the porters, and tell them the governor has ſent thee thither to order them to open the gates, or to let thee open them, to ſome merchants from Montpelier, who are without, heavy laden with merchandiſe for the fair.' 'I do not think they will believe me,' ſaid the man. 'Yes, they will if thou tell them, as a token of being ſent by the governor, that he could not come himſelf to relieve the guard, but ſent his ſon in his ſtead. If thou doſt not well perform all I have now told thee, or ſhould we fail in our exploit, I will ſlay thee with this dagger.'

The poor man, ſeeing himſelf menaced with death, for the Gaſcons are ready enough at this buſineſs, promiſed to do every thing according to the orders given to the utmoſt of his power, They went to the gate, and after knocking at it for ſome time, awakened the porters: they aſked,—'Who are ye that awaken us at ſuch an hour?' 'I am ſuch a one,' naming himſelf, 'who have this night carried home ſome work to the governor's houſe; and as I was coming this way, news was brought that ſome merchants from Montpelier were without the gate, quite jaded and wet with their journey and loads. He has therefore ſent me to tell

you

you to open the gates, or to give me the keys to do ſo; and, as a proof I am ſent by him, I was to ſay he did not relieve the guard this evening, but ſent his ſon.' 'That is true,' replied they: 'thou ſhalt have the keys: only wait a moment.'

One of them aroſe, and taking the keys, that were hanging on a peg, opened a ſmall window, and gave them to him. The moment after, Geronnet ſnatched them from him, and went to the bars of the gate. The firſt key he put into the lock luckily opened it: and he then went to the outward gate, thinking to do the ſame there, but in vain.

Perrot and his companions were on the outſide, waiting its opening; but, as Geronnet's endeavours were fruitleſs, he ſaid to them, 'My fair ſirs, give ſome aſſiſtance; for I cannot any way open this gate.' Then thoſe who were provided with axes and wedges, began to uſe them like carpenters. As ſoon as they had made a hole, Geronnet gave them hatchets and ſaws to cut the bars. Several of the inhabitants, on hearing the noiſe, quitted their beds, wondering what it could be; for they never imagined the Engliſh were come to awaken them at ſuch an hour.

The porters at the gate, who had ſo badly guarded it, hearing the clattering of armour and the neighing of horſes, knew they had been deceived and ſurpriſed. They went to the windows over the gate, and bawled out, 'Treaſon! treaſon!' which alarmed the whole town: many roſe

and

and fled to ſave themſelves and fortune in the caſtle, but few were allowed to enter it; for, when the governor heard the Engliſh had ſurpriſed the town, for fear of conſequences, he would not lower the draw-bridge. He received, indeed, ſome of his friends at the firſt moment, by means of a plank; but when he heard the cries of the women and children, he withdrew the plank, and would never replace it, but made his preparations for defence, in caſe the caſtle ſhould be attacked.

I have ſaid how the firſt gate was opened: the ſecond was cut down with axes, and the captains, with their companions, marched into the town without any oppoſition. They did not, at firſt, enter a houſe, for they knew not if any bodies of men were collecting to reſiſt them, but went through the town to be aſſured of it. They only found a few who were attempting to enter the caſtle, that made any reſiſtance, but they were ſoon either ſlain or made priſoners. Why ſhould I make a long ſtory of it? The town of Montferrant was thus ſurpriſed, on a Thurſday night, the thirteenth day of February, by Perrot le Béarnois and his accomplices. When they ſaw themſelves maſters of the place, they took up their lodgings at different hotels, without doing violence to any one; for Perrot had ordered, under pain of death, that neither woman nor damſel ſhould be violated, that no houſes ſhould be burnt, nor any priſoners made without his knowledge; and that no one, under the ſame penalty, ſhould hurt church or churchman, nor take

take away any thing from thence. Theſe were the orders Perrot le Béarnois always gave; and he had made them be ſtrictly obſerved ever ſince he had entered France, to carry on a war againſt its towns and caſtles.

Such was not the conduct of Geoffry Tête-noir: it was indifferent to him whether churches were plundered or not, ſo that he gained by it. When news was brought to Clermont, which is but a ſhort league diſtant, of the capture of Montferrant by the Engliſh, the inhabitants were greatly alarmed, and not without cauſe, for their enemies were too near. They knew not well how to act; but they made preparations for the defence of the town. This intelligence was alſo carried to Château-neuf, on the Allier, Thionne, Vic, Yſſoire, Rioms, Aigue-perſe, and the ſtrong caſtle of Montpenſier: all, or the greater part, of theſe places belonged to the duke of Berry. Thoſe who heard it, or were any way affected by it, were exceedingly ſurpriſed: and the neighbouring parts of Auvergne, Bourbonois, Forêts, and even as far as Berry, trembled. When the news came to Paris, the king and his uncles were, as was natural, very wroth.

The count-dauphin of Auvergne was at this time in Paris, on the affairs of his country, and greatly hurt when told of the ſurpriſe of Montferrant; for, as he was with the count d'Armagnac, lieutenant for the king over theſe countries, he was afraid blame would be imputed to him for being abſent from his government. But his excuſe was, that he was at Paris for the completion

pletion of the treaties that had been entered into with the captains of the free companies, and that, on the faith of them, the country had thought itſelf in perfect ſecurity. The dauphin, however ſet out from Paris, for Auvergne, the moment he heard of it, leaving his ſtate behind, and, only attended by one page, took the road for Moulins, in the Bourbonois, changing horſes daily. In this haſte, he came to St. Pierre le Mouſtier*, where he learnt other intelligence, which I will relate to you.

CHAP. XVII.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND HIS COMPANIONS DETERMINE NOT TO KEEP POSSESSION OF MONTFERRANT.—THEY MAKE A SALLY ON SOME TROOPS FROM CLERMONT, WHO HAD ADVANCED TO THE BARRIERS OF THE CAPTURED TOWN, AND INSTANTLY DEFEAT THEM.

ON the Friday morning theſe captains, being complete lords of Montferrant, and having had all the inhabitants tied together, ſo that they could not any way oppoſe them, ſearched their houſes, and packed up whatever they

* St. Pierre le Mouſtier, a town in the Nivernois, ſeven leagues from Moulins.

thought

thought would be profitable to them, in draperies, cloths, furs, dreſſes, and other articles. When at breakfaſt they had a long conſultation, whether to keep the town or not: ſome were for keeping and fortifying it; but the majority were of a contrary opinion, and ſaid it would be madneſs to do ſo, for they would be at too great a diſtance from their own caſtles, and be incloſed within it. Should they be beſieged, they were not in force to hold out, and too far from any aſſiſtance.

They would be ſtarved into a ſurrender; for there were numbers of gentlemen in the towns and cities about; and the duke of Berry, as ſoon as he ſhould hear what they had done, would order thither the Marſhal of France, the lord Lewis de Sancerre. The count d'Armagnac and the dauphin would advance to the ſiege with a great force, without waiting to be ſent to; for they had under them the following great barons: the lords de la Tour, d'Apton, d'Aptiel, de Renel, de la Paliſſe, and ſeveral more; but, above all, ſir John Bonnelance would come hither, with a large body of friends; for it had been ſaid the town was loſt by his imprudence and neglect.

Such were the arguments urged againſt keeping the town, particularly by Perrot le Béarnois and Olim Barbe. Many other reaſons were added; for, ſhould they be taken, they would loſe all they had, be puniſhed for what they had done, and their forts would be taken from them. They therefore reſolved to march away that evening, and carry away their booty and priſoners, of whom they had

more

more than two hundred. To prevent any hindrance to this plan, they poſted ſtrong guards at all the gates, ſo that no one could leave the town.

I will now relate a ſkirmiſh that paſſed between them and ſome from Clermont. When news firſt came to Clermont that Montferrant was taken by the Engliſh, they were much alarmed at having ſuch neighbours, and held many conſultations on the ſubject. There was, on the road from Clermont to Montferrant, the handſomeſt, ſtrongeſt, and beſt built church, belonging to the mendicant friars, in France. It had large incloſures, ſurrounded by high walls, within which were very productive vineyards; for, one year with another, theſe friars made from one hundred to ſix score hogſheads of wine. In theſe conſultations, ſome adviſed the deſtruction of this monaſtery; as they ſaid it was ſo near the town, that it was not unlikely to be its ruin, if in the hands of theſe pillagers. The pulling it down had been in agitation formerly, and they were now eager to effect it. But others ſaid, it would be a pity to deſtroy ſuch handſome buildings; and that it would be better to march to Montferrant, and ſkirmiſh with the conquerors, at the barriers, and, if poſſible, inveſt the place, to prevent the enemy leaving it; for, within four days, the knights and ſquires of the Bourbonois and Forêts would be collected and lay ſiege to it. While theſe converſations were going forward in the city of Clermont, about ſixty men at arms, well mounted, were ready to march towards Montferrant, and ſkirmiſh at the barriers, and then

then return home again. No one checked their ardour; for there were among them ſome of the nobleſt in the town, who ſeemed eager to perform deeds of valour. Being all equipped, they ſet off for Montferrant, taking with them thirty croſs-bows. Upwards of two hundred volunteers left Clermont and followed them on foot.

It was told to the companions in Montferrant, that a party from Clermont were at the barriers. This news pleaſed them much: upwards of one hundred of the moſt expert having armed themſelves, and mounted their horſes, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and fell upon thoſe from Clermont, ſhouting, 'Saint George!' When the party ſaw themſelves thus vigorouſly attacked, they were panic-ſtruck and inſtantly defeated, without making the ſmalleſt defence, but flying in all directions. The beſt mounted, on leaving Clermont, took the lead, and ſaid on the road, they would be the firſt to attack theſe pillagers; but ſhortly they were the firſt to return to their town, and the Gaſcons at their heels. Had the laſt had as good horſes, all or the greater part would have remained with them: they, however, chaſed them until they met the volunteers on foot, who, when they perceived the defeat of their townſmen, kept no longer any order, but ran away for the faſteſt, leaping from hedge to hedge, and from ditch to ditch, to ſave themſelves. The croſs-bows from Clermont kept in better array when the others fled, and drew themſelves up in a vineyard with preſented bows, making a ſhew of defence. They there remained

until

until the Engliſh had returned to Montferrant, for they never thought of going after them. The Clermentois loſt twenty of their men, ſix killed and fourteen made priſoners.

CHAP. XVIII.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS AND HIS COMPANIONS, HAVING PLUNDERED MONTFERRANT, RETREAT TO THEIR FORTS.—HIS ANSWER TO THE DAUPHIN OF AUVERGNE, WHO COMPLAINS OF HIS HAVING SURPRISED THIS TOWN DURING THE TIME TREATIES WERE IN AGITATION FOR HIS LEAVING THE COUNTRY.

WHEN this buſineſs was over, they were buſily employed until near night in packing up their plunder. On the point of ſix o'clock, having completed it, they were on foot, except about ſixty on horſeback, and conducted down the ſtreets more than four hundred horſes laden with cloths, linen, furs, and whatever they had ſeized. They had found in the houſes of the rich, caſkets full, but had left them empty. Having bound all the inhabitants, two and two, they had the gates opened after nightfal and departed, not having ſtaid at Montferrant more than eighteen hours. They ſent their baggage and

and priſoners before, with thoſe on foot; and the captains followed cloſe after on horſeback.

It was dark night; and, as the country did not ſuſpect their ſtay would have been ſo ſhort, they were not purſued. About midnight they came to Donzac, which they had left two days before, and there unpacked and examined their plunder. I heard, when in that country, that they gained by this expedition upwards of one hundred thouſand francs, beſides priſoners; for ſir Peter de Giac, chancellor of France, alone loſt more than thirty thouſand francs in gold.

The companions had wiſely reſolved to leave Montferrant as they did: had they ſtaid two days longer, they could not have attempted it without great danger of their lives. The whole ſurrounding country were collecting, and advancing in great bodies to lay ſiege to them, under the command of the lords de la Tour, de Montague, d'Apthier, d'Apthon, ſir Guiſcard Dauphin, the marquis of Gaiulhat, ſir Lewis d'Ambiere, the lord de la Paliſſe, ſir Plouſtrac de Chaſtelux, and the ſénéſchal de Montaigne. None remained at home, and the count-dauphin was very active in the matter. He would have been there within two days, had he not heard that the Gaſcons had retreated to their forts: at the ſame time, he received an account of all the miſchief which they had committed.

When he was aſſured this intelligence was true, he travelled more ſlowly to Saint Pourçain, and thence to Moulins in the Bourbonois, where he met his daughter, the ducheſs of Bourbon,

who

who had been very much alarmed, but was rejoiced on hearing the enemy had retreated, though thoſe of Montferrant had ſuffered ſeverely by their viſit, as her country was now freed from ſuch near and troubleſome neighbours.

'On my faith,' ſaid the count-dauphin, 'though it were to coſt me a very large ſum of money, I wiſh theſe pillagers had remained in Montferrant, for it ſhould have ended badly with them. We in Auvergne could never have had ſo fair an opportunity of puniſhing them, and gaining their forts. They prove their abilities in war by having ſo expeditiouſly finiſhed the matter. They have now re-entered their forts, and their plunder is in ſafety.' Thus did the count-dauphin of Auvergne and his daughter, the ducheſs of Bourbon, converſe together.

Perrot le Béarnois, Olim Barbe, le bourg de Copane, le bourg Anglois, Apthon Seighin, and the other captains of the free companies, on their arrival at Donzac, made a diviſion of their pillage and priſoners; ſome they ranſomed, others were carried with them to their different forts, when they ſeparated at Donzac for Carlat, Chaluçet, and their other gariſons.

The country of Auvergne was now better guarded than ever. The count d'Armagnac and the count-dauphin ſent, however, to tell Perrot le Béarnois, that he had treacherouſly and wickedly ſurpriſed and plundered Montferrant, during the time when treaties were negotiating between them, and that, as he had aſſented to ſuch treaties, they expected he would make reparation

tion for the miſchief that had been done. Perrot replied to this meſſage by ſaying, that 'under their graces' favour, neither he nor any of the ſeven captains, who had plundered Montferrant, had ever entered into any treaty with them: that they had not taken the town treacherouſly nor by ſcalado, but had fairly entered by the gate, which had been opened to them on their arrival: that if they had aſſented to a treaty, legally ſworn and ſealed, they would on their part, religiouſly and loyally have adhered to it; but that was not the fact, nor had they intentions of ever entering into any treaty with him.'

Things remained in this ſtate, nor could theſe lords gain any thing more. Sir Peter de Giac was much vexed at his loſs, and the townſmen of Montferrant recovered themſelves as well as they could from ſuch an unfortunate adventure.

CHAP. XIX.

THE LORD LEWIS OF BLOIS MARRIES THE LADY MARY OF BERRY, AND THE LORD JOHN OF BERRY THE PRINCESS MARY OF FRANCE, WHO DIES SHORTLY AFTER.—THE DEATH OF THE LADY JANE OF ARMAGNAC, DUCHESS OF BERRY.

COUNT Guy de Blois, in company with his counteſs and a handſome attendance of knights, ſquires and ladies, ſet out, in the month

of

of Auguſt of the year of our Lord 1386*, in grand array, from his caſtle of Blois, for Berry. They carried with them their young ſon, who, the preceding year, had been betrothed to the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry; and it was the intention of all parties, that on their arrival at Bourges the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

When the contracts had been ſigned, the marriage ceremony was performed in the cathedral church of St. Stephen, at Bourges, by a valiant prelate, the cardinal of Avignon. The chancellor of Berry and the biſhop of Poitiers had betrothed them to each other the year before. There were many grand feaſts and entertainments at this wedding of lord Lewis of Blois with the lady Mary of Berry, and the tilts and tournaments of the knights and ſquires laſted for eight days.

The count and counteſs of Blois, when all was over, took leave of the duke of Berry and returned to Blois, accompanied by their daughter-in-law.

This ſame year John of Berry, ſon of the duke of Berry, and ſtyled count de Montpenſier, was married to lady Mary of Franee, ſiſter to king Charles.

The ducheſs of Berry, with her ſon and the lady Mary of France, paid a viſit to the count and coun-

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* Denis Sauvage, in a marginal note, ſays, that Froiſſart, having omitted to notice theſe marriages at their proper time, prefers mentioning them here rather than omit them entirely.

teſs

teſs of Blois during the Lent of the enſuing year. They and their attendants were grandly received in the caſtle of Blois, as the count underſtood theſe matters well. I was preſent at the time of this viſit. When the ducheſs and her children had ſtaid three days, they departed for Poitiers; but they went by water down the Loire as far as Amboiſe, and from thence travelled in cars and on horſeback to Poitou. The ducheſs and her children reſided for the moſt part in the fair caſtle of a handſome town called Chinon *.

In this year died the lady Mary of France, the young bride of the count de Montpenſier. Soon after died alſo, the lady Jane d'Armagnac, ducheſs of Berry. Thus the duke and his ſon were left widowers: they, however, married again, but not immediately. I ſhall ſpeak of theſe ſecond marriages, more eſpecially of that of the duke, at a proper time, as our hiſtory claims that mention be made of it.

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* Chinon, an ancient town of France, election of Tours. It is remarkable for the death of Henry II. of England, and the reſidence of Charles VII. of France. Rabelais was born very near to it.

CHAP. XX.

WHILE THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE IS IN DELIBERATION WHETHER OR NOT TO MARCH AN ARMY AGAINST THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, THE DUKE OF BERRY SENDS THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, TO ENDEAVOUR TO WIN HIM OVER TO THE PARTY OF FRANCE, AFTER HAVING ALIENATED HIMSELF FROM IT BY THE ARREST OF THE CONSTABLE.

I HAVE before mentioned the challenge which had been ſent by the duke of Gueldres to the king of France. It was much talked of every where, from the uncourteous, and indeed rude language it was ſaid to contain. I was in truth ſhewn ſome rough drafts, which were ſaid to be exact copies of this challenge; but as I never ſaw the original, nor any certified copy, I did not give much credit to what ſo nearly concerned a little prince, like the duke of Gueldres, and a king of France.

It was evident that this conduct had greatly angered the king of France, who ſeemed determined to have reparation, and expected excuſes to be made for it by the duke of Gueldres. The king's council had reſolved it ſhould not remain quiet: for the great barons had declared, that if the king did not ſhew his reſentment, whatever ſums it might coſt France, they would be alone to blame: for the king had proved,

when

when in Flanders, his willingneſs to purſue his enemies. The king was young, indeed, but of good courage; and if he ſuffered ſuch inſults with patience, foreign countries would hold the nobility of France very cheap, as they were the king's adviſers, and had ſworn to guard his honour.

The lord de Coucy took great pains in the council, that no blame might fall on him; and ſhewed clearly he perſonally felt the inſult. He was better acquainted with the character of the Germans than many others, from his diſputes with the duke of Auſtria, and from different tranſactions in which he had been engaged with them.

The king's miniſters ſaw that the greater part of the nobles of the realm were for war againſt Gueldres, and, in particular the duke of Burgundy, on account of the warfare the duke was carrying on againſt his aunt, the ducheſs, and the country of Brabant. This duchy reverted to him after the deceaſe of his aunt and her ſiſter*, who were both old ladies. The duke of Burgundy

* In the 12th annotation of Denis Sauvage, he makes the following obſervations:

'*Sister.*' 'I ſhould ſuppoſe this ſiſter to be Jane, widow of the late William count of Hainault, according to the 30th and 117 chapters of the firſt volume, if the 257th of the ſame volume, and the 207th of the ſecond, did not incline me to believe, that this widow was the Jane of Brabant, married again to Winceſlaus, laſt duke of Brabant, who acquired, by his union with her, that duchy. The counteſs of

Burgundy would very gladly have ſeen the duke of Gueldres, who was chivalrous enough, checked by fair or foul means.

It was neceſſary, however, the kingdom ſhould be unanimous in this diſpoſition; for it was a great diſtance the king of France would have to march into Germany to make conqueſts and put lords under his obedience; and he muſt carry with him the whole force of the kingdom; for, as the Germans were ſo avaricious, it was uncertain if they would not all unite in the ſupport of the duke of Gueldres. In addition, the duke of Burgundy and the other nobles were aware of the conſequences the conduct of the duke of Brittany might lead to; for he ſhewed his preference of war to peace with France; and the lords of the council knew he was laying proviſion of ſtores and artillery in all his ſtrong towns and caſtles for their defence, in caſe of being beſieged. Beſides this, he was conſtantly ſending over letters and meſſengers to England, to the king and his council, in the moſt affectionate terms, offering henceforth the ſtrongeſt friendſhip, ſo that the Engliſh might continue the war with the moſt flattering hopes of ſucceſs.

The council were unwilling to decide on any

Flanders, who was ſiſter to this ducheſs, died five years before her huſband, count Lewis of Flanders, who deceaſed in the month of January, 1384; ſo that I ſuſpect the reading ſhould be, 'after the deceaſe of his aunt, who was now very old;' for I cannot ſay who this ſiſter was.

bold

bold meaſures, until this cloud, which hung over Brittany, was removed by ſome means or other, ſo that the kingdom might not have any fear from that quarter: for, ſhould the king march into Germany, the country would be left defenceleſs, and they knew not well how to bring about an accommodation. Thoſe who had been ſent into Brittany, the biſhop of Langres, ſir John de Vienne, and ſir John de Bueil, were returned, and had told the king and his uncles of their ill ſucceſs. Upon this the duke of Berry reſolved to ſend thither his couſin, the count d'Eſtampes, who was a valiant man and able negotiator. He therefore addreſſed him in ſuch words as theſe,—'Fair couſin, I entreat you would go to Brittany: it is abſolutely neceſſary you ſhould do ſo, to negotiate with our couſin, the duke of Brittany; and ſhould you find him hot and imperious in ſpeech, do not you mind it, nor put yourſelf in any paſſion. Treat him gently, and with the greateſt attention, and endeavour to make him liſten to reaſon: tell him that the king, myſelf, and brother of Burgundy, wiſh him every thing good, and bear him the ſtrongeſt affection; and that, if he would come and live with us, he would find us always ready to ſerve him. In reſpect to the caſtles which he holds from the conſtable, ſay, jokingly, that, to be ſure, he had ſeized them unjuſtly, and that, if he would be pleaſed to render them back, it would redound greatly to his honour, and the king would give him as rich and as ſtrong ones in any part of the

kingdom

kingdom he may chooſe. Exert yourſelf, dear couſin, to bring us back good news; and do not quit him, however you may be delayed, without bringing matters to ſome ſort of a concluſion, taking care to remember all the duke's anſwers, and to examine well the ſtate of the duchy.'

The count d'Eſtampes aſſured the duke he would cheerfully undertake it; and he made no long delay, from the time of his converſation, in his preparations for the journey. When ready, he ſet out for Brittany, taking his road through Chartres and Mans, and the rich country of Maine to Angers, where he met the queen of Naples, widow of the duke of Anjou, who had ſtyled himſelf king of Naples, Sicily and Jeruſalem, duke of la Puglia, and count de Provence. Her two ſons, the lords Lewis and Charles, were with her.

The queen received her couſin, the count d'Eſtampes, handſomely, and becoming her ſituation; and they had many converſations together, ſuch as lords and ladies are accuſtomed to have. John of Brittany was likewiſe there, who was not in the good graces of the duke of Brittany, whither the count was going: but he carried it off as well as he could; for, not having any forces to ſupport his pretenſions, he was obliged ſo to do. The count remained at Angers a day and night, and then took his leave, and departed for Chantoceaux*, where he ar-

* Chantoceaux, a ſmall town, dioceſe of Nantes.

rived

rived that day, and then continued his journey to Nantes, where he refreſhed himſelf, and inquired after the duke of Brittany. He was told that he was at Vannes, or in that part of the country, which was his uſual place of reſidence. He took the road for Vannes, where, on his arrival, he waited on the duke, who received him very kindly, for they were nearly connected by blood.

The count d'Eſtampes, knowing well how to conduct himſelf with great princes and dames, for he had been brought up and educated with them, acquitted himſelf with much prudence when in the preſence of the duke, and, diſſembling with him, did not, for ſome days, diſcover the object of his coming. When he found a proper opportunity, he began upon it with great caution and humility, to gain the duke's affection, in manner ſomething like the following: 'My lord and very dear couſin, you muſt not be ſurpriſed if I am come to ſee you from ſuch a great diſtance, for I was very deſirous of ſo doing.' He then continued to inform him, word for word, what the duke of Berry had charged him to ſay.

The duke of Brittany did not ſeem to pay any great attention to what he ſaid, but, when he had done, replied to the count d'Eſtampes,—'We have in truth heard before what you now tell us, and will conſider of it, for we have not as yet done ſo. You will remain with us as long as you pleaſe, for your coming has given us much pleaſure.'

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The count could not, for the preſent, obtain any other anſwer: but he continued with the duke, and was lodged within his caſtle. He ſtaid about fifteen days with the duke of Brittany in Vannes and thereabouts, who treated him with much affection. He ſhewed him his fair caſtle of Ermine, which he had newly repaired and beautified, as he there enjoyed himſelf the moſt. The count, one day finding him in good humour, again remonſtrated with him on his late conduct, and repeated the cauſe of his coming; but, though the duke's anſwers were fair, there was no dependance to be placed on his reſtitution of the hundred thouſand francs and the caſtles to the conſtable. He did at length reſtore them; but it was of his own free will, without any requeſt being made, and when it was the leaſt expected, as I will relate in the courſe of this hiſtory, according to the information I received.

The count d'Eſtampes, finding that a longer ſtay in Brittany would be uſeleſs, determined to take his leave of the duke, and return to France, to the duke of Berry, who had ſent him thither. The duke of Brittany parted with him very affectionately, and preſented him with a handſome white palfrey, ſaddled and equipped as if for a king, and a ring with a rich ſtone, which had coſt at leaſt one thouſand francs.

The count, on leaving Brittany, went to Angers, where he waited on the queen of Naples and John of Brittany, who were anxious to hear what had paſſed. They ſaid, 'Fair couſin, you muſt

muſt have been well employed, for you have made a long ſtay in Brittany.' He related to them partly what he had done, but the concluſion was, that he had been unſucceſsful. When he had remained with them one day, he departed for Tours, and continued his journey into Berry, and found the duke of Berry at Mehun-ſur-Yevre*, where he had lately built a very fine caſtle, and was daily adding to it.

The duke of Berry entertained the count well, and inquired what had paſſed in Brittany. The count told him, word for word, the converſation between him and the duke, and that it had been impoſſible to turn him from his purpoſes, whatever they might be. The duke of Berry, ſeeing nothing better could be done, made light of it, and, ſhortly after, returned to the king and the duke of Burgundy, to relate to them the ill ſucceſs of the journey the count d'Eſtampes had undertaken, at his requeſt, to Brittany. As they ſaw they could not do more, affairs remained in this ſtate.

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* Mehun-ſur-Yevre, a town in Berry on the Yevre, four leagues from Bourges.

CHAP. XXI.

THE CASTILLIANS AND FRENCH, AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FROM GALICIA, RE-CONQUER, IN A VERY SHORT TIME, ALL THE TOWNS AND CASTLES HE HAD WON.—THE ENGLISH ABUSE CASTILLE, WHEN IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.—THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL INVITE THE DUKE OF IRELAND, WHO HAD FLED FROM ENGLAND, TO PARIS.

YOU have before heard how the Engliſh, who had come with the duke of Lancaſter to Galicia, had departed, and how the duke and ducheſs had retired to Oporto, where they had reſided ſome time with king John of Portugal, who had married the duke's daughter. The duke of Lancaſter was very diſconſolate that his affairs had taken ſo ruinous a turn, and that his beſt knights and ſquires had fallen victims to diſeaſe.

The whole country of Galicia was now returned to its allegiance to the king of Caſtille; for the moment the Caſtillians, and the French knights under ſir Oliver du Gueſclin, heard of the duke of Lancaſter's departure for Portugal, and that few Engliſh had remained behind, they ſallied forth to conquer Galicia back again, which was ſoon done. The inhabitants of cities and towns were more attached to the king of Caſtille than to the duke of Lancaſter, provided, however, he was able to keep the field; for the *Caſtillians* and Galicians reſemble a good deal

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the Lombards and Italians, who are always on the ſide of the ſtrongeſt, and ſhout out, 'The conqueror for ever!'

All which the duke of Lancaſter had been able to win before the beginning of July was regained, and the places garriſoned again by French and others under the obedience of the king of Caſtille. The Engliſh, who thought to paſs the winter quietly there, were driven out by fair or foul means, for ſuch as made reſiſtance were put to death.—Others, ſeeing affairs go badly, ſurrendered on having paſſports given them to return through Caſtille to Gaſcony by Bayonne and Bordeaux. The duke of Lancaſter was duly informed of all this when at Oporto, and not being able any way to provide a remedy, it gave him great unquietneſs of heart. This may be readily believed, for the higher the ſpirit and expectations are, the greater and more bitter are diſappointments when things turn out contrary.

He, however, kept up his courage tolerably well, and ſaid at times, that if he had been unſucceſsful this year, through the grace of God, he ſhould do better another: for the fortunes of this world are ſo changeable, they cannot remain always the ſame.

The king of Portugal comforted him as much as was in his power, ſaying,—'Sir, you will keep your ſtate in this country, while you write to your brothers and friends in England the melancholy event of your expedition, though they be now fully informed of all, and preſs them to

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ſend you, early in March next, five or ſix hundred ſpears and two thouſand archers. I will re-aſſemble my forces, for my ſubjects are well inclined to fight the Caſtillians, and we will make an effectual war againſt them. A kingdom may be won and loſt in one campaign.'

The duke, on hearing the king thus diſcourſe, was much pleaſed, and returned him his thanks. But, notwithſtanding the king of Portugal had held ſuch language to induce his father-in-law to take courage, the duke was not ignorant that England was in a very troubled ſtate, that the council had many weighty things to attend to, as well reſpecting the affairs of the borders of Scotland, which gave them much uneaſineſs, as concerning the duke of Brittany, who was negotiating important treaties with them. He remembered alſo that he had many difficulties to obtain the force he had brought with him to Galicia, and that, knowing his countrymen well, he had never had any intention of ſeeking a reinforcement, for he was aware the country at preſent was as heavily preſſed as it was able to bear; that thoſe who had gone home from Caſtille would never return thither, and he was fearful they would diſcourage any others from coming to his aid. Although he knew all this, he did not behave well to the king and barons of Portugal in hiding it from them.

After reſiding ſome time at Oporto, he told the king, that many reaſons urged him to return to Bayonne and the Bordelois; for that Portugal, though he was ſo agreeably received there

there by all, was not his own inheritance. He added, that as there were ſo many ſtrong places and caſtles in the archbiſhoprick of Bordeaux, on the borders of Foix, Armagnac, beyond the Garonne and Dordogne, in Quercy, Perigord, Limouſin, Auvergne and other parts, which were ſtill attached to the Engliſh, and whoſe garriſons were carrying on a war under his name: it therefore was his duty to go thither, and give them aid and advice, ſhould there be occaſion. He was beſides, when in Portugal, too remote to hear news from England; for the Engliſh dread the voyage to Portugal, for its length and danger of meeting Caſtillian, Galician or Seville veſſels, which cover that ſea, either in going to, or returning from Flanders, with merchandiſe.

For theſe and other reaſons, the duke of Lancaſter made his preparations for departure; and when the galleys, which the king of Portugal had provided for him, under the command of his principal admiral Alphonſo Bretat, were ready, and the weather favourable, he and his ducheſs took leave of the king, their daughter, and the barons of Portugal, and embarked and put to ſea. They coaſted the ſhores, and, having wind and weather fair, arrived ſafely at Bayonne in a few days. The inhabitants of Bayonne and the adjacent parts were much rejoiced at their arrival, for they deſired greatly their coming, and waited on them to pay their reſpects. News of the duke and ducheſs being at Bayonne with their daughter was ſpread far and near, and gave much pleaſure to Bordeaux and the Bordelois.

Sir John Harpedon, ſénéſchal of Bordeaux, and the ſénéſchal des Landes, with other gentlemen of the country, ſuch as the lord de Mucident, the lords de Duras, de Roſem, de Landuras, de Chaumont, de l'Eſparre, de Copane, and ſeveral more of the principal barons and knights, paid their compliments to the duke. He received them kindly as they came, for they arrived ſeparately. All offered him ſuch ſervices and affection as are due to a lord.

The duke reſided this ſeaſon at Bayonne. He frequently wrote to the king of England and to his brothers; but, for whatever he could urge, he had not any reinforcement of men at arms or archers; and, as things were then ſituated, the duke of Lancaſter and his concerns were totally diſregarded. Thoſe who had returned from Caſtille gave ſuch accounts as diſcouraged others from going thither. They ſaid, 'The voyage was ſo long, a war with France would be far more advantageous. France has a rich country and temperate climate, with fine rivers; but Caſtille has nothing but rocks and high mountains, a ſharp air, muddy rivers, bad meat, and wines ſo hot and harſh there is no drinking them. The inhabitants are poor and filthy, badly clothed and lodged, and quite different in their manners to us, ſo that it would be folly to go thither. When you enter a large city or town, you expect to find every thing, but you will meet with nothing but wines, lard, and empty coffers. It is quite the contrary in France; for there we have many a time found, *in the* cities and towns, when the fortune of

war delivered them into our hands, ſuch wealth and riches as aſtoniſhed us. It is ſuch a war as this we ought to attend to, and boldly hazard our lives, for it is very profitable, and not in a war with Caſtille or Portugal, where there is nothing but poverty and loſs to be ſuffered.'

Such were the converſations of the Engliſh who had returned from Caſtille, ſo that the miniſters who ruled the country, perceived that any expedition thither would be very unpopular. The country was not as yet recovered from the late troubles, which the executions of ſir Robert Treſilian and others, and the flight of the duke of Ireland, had thrown it into. The king had alſo new counſellors, with whom he was not, at that time, well reconciled. All theſe things prevented any attention being paid to what related to the duke of Lancaſter, who ſtill reſided at Bayonne.

The ſituation of England, with reſpect to its internal diviſions, the deſperate ſtate of the affairs of the duke of Lancaſter, and all that related to the duke of Ireland and his partiſans, were perfectly known to the king of France and his council. To gain more information on theſe ſubjects, the king, by the advice of his uncles, reſolved to invite the duke of Ireland into France, and to ſend to him at Utrecht, where he reſided, proper paſſports for his coming thither, and for remaining as long as it ſhould be the king's pleaſure, and to return whenever the duke ſhould pleaſe. It was neceſſary to ſend ſpecial meſſengers,

meſſengers, and that his paſſport ſhould be particularly made out, otherwiſe the duke would not quit Utrecht; for he knew he was in the ill graces of the lord de Coucy, (who was a great baron, and of high birth in France) and not without cauſe, for, to ſay the truth, he had very ſcandalouſly treated his ducheſs, the daughter of the lord de Couey. This certainly was the principal reaſon that had blaſted his character in France and elſewhere; for he was there as much hated and deſpiſed as in England. When this matter was diſcuſſed in the council of France, the lord de Coucy ſtrongly oppoſed it; but they gave ſo many reaſons for the advantages that might be reaped from the duke's coming, as to induce him to yield: indeed, as the king willed it, he could not ſay more.

The king, being young, was deſirous to ſee the duke of Ireland, becauſe he had been told he was a gallant knight, and that the king of England's love for him had been unbounded. A knight and clerk, who was one of the king's notaries, were ſent to ſeek him.

The duke of Ireland was very much aſtoniſhed when he firſt heard the king of France wiſhed to ſee him, and had many ideas what could be the cauſe of it. Having conſidered the paſſport, he found he might ſafely go to the king in France, and return to Utrecht when he pleaſed. He therefore left Utrecht, in company with thoſe who had been ſent for him, and continued his journey until he

he arrived at Paris, for the king then reſided at the caſtle of the Louvre. The duke was well received by the king and his uncles; and the king was deſirous he would fix his reſidence in France, and had an hôtel appointed for him to live and keep his ſtate. He had wherewithal to do ſo handſomely, for he had brought immenſe ſums of money with him from England, and the conſtable of France was ſtill much indebted to him for the ranſom of John of Brittany, as the whole had not been paid. The duke of Ireland made frequent viſits to the king, who entertained him well, and he was invited to all the feaſts, tilts and tournaments.

CHAP. XXII.

THE COUNCIL OF FRANCE DISAGREE, AS TO THE KING'S GOING INTO GERMANY, ON ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF THE REALM.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY STRENGTHENS HIS GARRISONS, AND FORMS ALLIANCES WITH ENGLAND AND THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE ENGLISH RAISE A LARGE ARMY.

YOU have before heard how the count d'Eſtampes was ſent by the duke of Berry into Brittany, in the hopes of conciliating the duke of Brittany, and had returned unſucceſsful, to the great vexation of the duke of Berry, but more particularly to that of the king's council; for they knew the eagerneſs of the king to

march to Germany, to revenge himſelf for the rude and outrageous challenge the duke of Gueldres had ſent him.

The wiſeſt of the council, foreſeeing what might happen, thought it would be too dangerous for the king, at this moment, to leave the realm. They now clearly ſaw the duke of Brittany would not liſten to terms of accommodation, and felt his conduct, in arreſting, confining, and ranſoming the conſtable for one hundred thouſand francs, three caſtles and a town, highly offenſive to the honour of France. They heard alſo, that the duke had entered into a ſtrong alliance with the king of England, and was laying up ſtores of all kinds in his different towns and caſtles. He was ſeeking friends on all ſides, ſo that his barons and knights knew not how to act, (or at leaſt the greater part) whether to go to France, or remain with the duke and abide the event; but they would never have taken arms againſt France, for the knights and ſquires of Brittany are too loyal Frenchmen to be induced to be guilty of ſuch conduct. The council were fearful, and with reaſon, ſhould the king march to Germany with a large force, and he could not do otherwiſe, that the duke of Brittany would introduce the Engliſh to his country, by Saint Malo, Saint Matthieu, Kemper, Treguier, Guerrande, Vannes, or on ſome other parts of the coaſt, for they could not gain a better entrance into France. They were, therefore, much puzzled, how they could, without compromiſing the king's honour

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and that of the realm, bring about a reconciliation with the duke. But ſome of the council ſaid, 'that it would be very blameable in the king to put off his expedition for this duke of Brittany, who was not maſter of his own country; and he might be aſſured that the knights and barons of Brittany would never ſide with him againſt the king of France. Let the king, in God's name, undertake the expedition, and the conſtable, with his Bretons, may ſtay at home to guard the country.' This opinion was ably ſupported in the council; but others oppoſed it, ſaying, 'It cannot be done, for the king will never undertake it without the conſtable, as he knows more of war than any other knight.' Some argued, ſaying, 'Let the king then remain, and ſend thither one of his uncles, for inſtance my lord of Burgundy, with two thouſand lances and ſeven thouſand luſty varlets; for, as the war principally affects him, he is bound to go thither, from his connection with Brabant, which is the ſeat of war; and he will be joined when in that country, by ſeven hundred ſpears, and from twenty to thirty thouſand of the common people.'—'What you ſay is to no purpoſe,' others replied, 'for the king is determined to go, as commander in chief: he ſays, ſince he has been challenged, he will not refuſe it. It is proper he ſhould therefore go; and, as he is young, the oftener he bears arms, the more will he like them.'—'All this is well,' ſaid ſome, 'but who will be bold enough to adviſe the king to march ſo far into Germany, and among ſuch

proud and crafty people? The entrance may be eaſy enough, but not ſo the return; for, when they know that the king of France and his nobles are in the heart of their country, they will collect together at ſome of the paſſes they are acquainted with, and of which we are ignorant, and completely deſtroy us. They are the moſt avaricious of mankind, and the moſt cruel to their priſoners; for, when they take any in war, they throw them into cloſe dungeons, loaded with fetters, and ſuch like priſon furniture: they are cunning enough in theſe matters, in order to obtain a larger ranſom for them. They are in the higheſt ſpirits when they make captive a nobleman or man of rank, and carry him with them into Bohemia, Auſtria, or Saxony, and confine him in some uninhabited caſtle, where you muſt ſeek for him. Such people are worſe than Pagans or Saracens, for their extreme covetouſneſs robs them of all ideas of honour. Now, if you conduct the king to ſuch a country, and any melancholy event happen, and who can foreſee what unfortunate accidents may not occur? it will be ſaid that we have adviſed him, like traitors, to his ruin, and not for the welfare of him or the kingdom. But, ſhould the king perſiſt in this expedition (God defend the realm from harm!) whom will he take with him, and what nobles are to attend him? for he muſt be properly accompanied, and the country, being left empty of defenders, is in riſk of total deſtruction. Who will now adviſe the king to undertake this matter in perſon?'—'What can be done

done then?" ſaid others in reply. 'Why,' anſwered thoſe who had more maturely conſidered the matter, and weighed all the difficulties attending it, 'let the king think no more of it, nor ſend any conſiderable force thither. The duke of Gueldres is young and hot-headed, and puffed up with having challenged a king of France. It has not proceeded from any ſolid underſtanding, but from the ſelf-ſufficiency of a young man, who wants to fly before he has wings. Since he has ſent his defiance, let him follow it up: the kingdom of France is large, and the moment he ſhall enter it, whatever part it may be, the king will be inſtantly informed of it, and have juſt cauſe for calling on his ſubjects for ſupport, and for marching to repel the invader, ſhould he have remained in France, or for purſuing him into Germany. The king will, by ſuch conduct, acquire honour for himſelf and his kingdom, at a much cheaper rate than by marching into Gueldres. We have been informed, by thoſe well acquainted with the country, that there are four large rivers to paſs before you arrive at the duke's territories, and that the ſmalleſt is as wide as the Loire at Nemours or la Charité, and the country bad to march through, and worſe to be quartered in. Now, thoſe who pleaſe may adviſe the king to undertake his expedition through ſuch a country.'

Thus, as I have ſaid, was the council divided reſpecting this expedition to Gueldres, which the king was very anxious to accompliſh. Indeed, more progreſs would have been made to-

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wards it, if they had not been afraid of the miſchief that might come from Brittany; and this delayed it much. There was cauſe for their fears; for the duke, who had received information of the challenge of the duke of Gueldres, and of the king's eagerneſs to march againſt him, was only waiting until the king had quitted the kingdom, to introduce the Engliſh, with whom he had formed an alliance, into his duchy.

The duke had, by his ſubtle arts, gained over the principal towns to his intereſt, ſuch as Nantes, Vannes, Rennes, Treguier, Guerrande, Lamballe, St. Malo, and St. Matthieu de Fine Pôterne, but had failed in his attempts to gain the nobles. He hoped, indeed, they would accompany the conſtable into Germany, and give him freer ſcopefor his war. He filled his towns and caſtles with all ſorts of ſtores, artillery and proviſions, plainly ſhewing he preferred war to peace.

He had likewiſe formed a ſtrict alliance with his brother-in-law, the young king of Navarre, and had promiſed him, that if he ſucceeded in his attempt to bring over a body of Engliſhmen at arms and archers, he would lead them inſtantly to Normandy, and recover for him all thoſe towns and places the late king of France had won from his father by himſelf, or the lord de Coucy and others. The king of Navarre indulged in theſe hopes, and paid every reſpectful compliment to the duke of Lancaſter at Bayonne, with whom he entered into an alliance.

On the 7th day of April, in the year of grace 1388,

1388, it was determined in the council of the king of England, by the dukes of York and Gloceſter, that Richard earl of Arundel ſhould be appointed commander in chief of a naval expedition. He was to have under him one thouſand men at arms and three thouſand archers, who were to aſſemble at Southampton the 15th of May, when the fleet would be ready prepared to receive them, and it was fixed that thoſe who were to accompany him were immediately to begin their march to Southampton.

The king of England kept a grand feaſt on St. George's day, this year, at Windſor, which was attended by a number of the lords, who were to accompany the earl of Arundel, and who there took leave of the king, the queen, his uncles and ladies. The whole of this armament were at Southampton, or in thoſe parts, on the uppointed day, and embarked on board the fleet the 20th day of May, when the weather was fine and clear. With the earl of Arundel were, the earls of Nottingham and Devonſhire, the lord Thomas Percy, the lord Clifford, ſir John de Warwick, ſir William Shellie, the lord Camois, ſir Stephen de Liberie, ſir William Elmham, ſir Thomas Moreaux, ſir John d'Ambreticourt, ſir Robert Sere, ſir Peter de Montberry, ſir Lewis Clanbow, ſir Thomas Cook, ſir William Paulet, and ſeveral more: in the whole, there were one thouſand good men at arms and about three thouſand archers. They embarked no horſes with them; for they hoped, if ſucceſsful, to find horſes in plenty in Brittany. The

day

day they weighed anchor, the ſea was ſo calm and ſerene, that it was beautiful to behold. They made for the ſhores of Brittany or Normandy, with a determination to land no where elſe, unleſs other intelligence ſhould be ſent them. They had in their fleet ſome light veſſels (called Balniers Courſiers) which drew but little water, and theſe were ſent in advance, to ſeek adventures, in the ſame manner as knights and ſquires, mounted on the fleeteſt horſes, are ordered to ſcour in front of an army, to ſee if there are any ambuſcades. We will, however, leave this army, and ſpeak of the affairs of Gueldres and Brabant, and of the ſiege of Grave.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE BRABANTERS LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF GRAVE.—THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE GAINS THE TOWNS OF SAINT MALO AND SAINT MATTHIEU DE FINE PÔTERNE, AND GARRISONS THEM WITH HIS MEN.

I HAVE before given an account of the ancient dukes of Gueldres, and how the eldest ſon of the firſt duke married Bertaldo of Mechlin's daughter, in order to redeem his inheritance, and had mortgaged three of his caſtles to the count de Mours, who, unable to regain the money he had lent, had ſold them to Winceſlaus duke of Brabant for the ſame ſum, and all

all the ſubſequent events to the time of duke William of Gueldres, ſon of the duke of Juliers.

This duke of Gueldres, finding he could no way ſucceed in recovering his before-mentioned three caſtles on the Meuſe, which had been part of his patrimonial inheritance, reſolved to ſecure himſelf the poſſeſſion of Grave from the Brabanters. He had married his baſtard-daughter to the young lord of Bruk, who claimed the town of Grave as lord paramount. There was an amicable treaty made between them, ſuch as ſhould be made when fathers and children are concerned; and the young lord of Bruk yielded to the duke all his claims on Grave, and the territories thereto belonging, in the preſence of the knights of Gueldres and Juliers.

The duke of Gueldres gave him, in return, the town and territory of Breda, ſituated on the river Merck, in the duchy of Gueldres, bordering on Holland, below Brabant. It had a handſome caſtle: the town was extenſive and of much trade, but Grave was more valuable. The duke had made this exchange to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the claim of the Brabanters; but the ducheſs and her ſubjects ſaid, that the lord of Bruk was only mortgagee in poſſeſſion, and that ſhe or her heirs might redeem it whenever they pleaſed. The duke of Gueldres denied this, and hence aroſe their mutual hatreds and wars.

The Brabanters this year, in the month of May, came with a powerful force of barons, knights and ſquires, to lay ſiege to the town of Grave. They brought with them ſpringalls,

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and various other machines of attack, and they amounted altogether to forty thouſand men. There were almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes at the barriers. The town of Grave is ſituated on the Brabant ſide of the Meuſe, over which there is a bridge that connects it with Gueldres.

This ſiege was a bold enterpriſe; but great plenty was in the army of Brabant, and every thing was to be had there for money, and as cheap as at Bruſſels. In theſe continual ſkirmiſhes at the barriers, where the croſs-bows ſometimes ventured, the ſucceſs was variable, as muſt always happen when the parties are nearly equal.

The duke of Gueldres was regularly informed of every thing that paſſed at the ſiege, for he had fixed his reſidence only four leagues off at Nimeguen. He wrote frequently to England for aſſiſtance, and was in hopes the armament at ſea under the earl of Arundel, ſhould the winds prove favourable, would come to raiſe this ſiege. He knew the town of Grave was ſtrong, and that it was amply ſupplied with ſtores and proviſions, and could not be won by ſtorm. As it could only be gained by capitulation, he felt aſſured on that head, as he depended on the fidelity of the inhabitants, that they would never deſert him. This ſiege, therefore, laſted a very conſiderable time.

The earl of Arundel's fleet was ſtill at ſea, and, though no landing had been attempted, it hovered along the coaſts of Brittany and Normandy, ſo that the Normans, from St. Michael's Mount

Mount along the ſhore to Dieppe, Saint Valery, and even Crotoy in Ponthieu, were much alarmed, and uncertain at what place they would diſembark. All theſe ſea-port towns were well provided with men at arms, by orders from the king of France, to oppoſe any invaſion.

The marſhal de Blainville, who commanded on the coaſt, ſent the lord de Coucy, and the lord de Hambre, two great Norman barons, to the town of Carentan, which is ſituated on the ſea-ſhore, and formerly belonged to Charles king of Navarre. The conſtable of France took poſſeſſion of the towns of Saint Malo, and Saint Matthieu de Fine Pôterne; and, as ſoon as he learnt the Engliſh were at ſea, he placed ſufficient garriſons in both, in the name of the king of France.

It was thought in France, that war would be declared againſt the duke of Brittany. The knights and ſquires ſaid, that this appearance of the Engliſh fleet was another inſtance of the duke's perfidy; for, by their continued hovering along his coaſts, it was clear that he had invited them thither. They never quitted their ſtations, unleſs forced by ſtreſs of weather, and, when favourable, returned to them again.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, HAS INTENTIONS OF MARRYING HIS DAUGHTER TO THE DUKE DE LA TOURAINE, BROTHER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BERRY PROPOSES HIMSELF FOR HER HUSBAND.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER IS MUCH SATISFIED THEREAT.

I HAVE before ſaid that the duke of Lancaſter had quitted Caſtille and Portugal. His thoughts, on the unfortunate event of his expedition, were not very agreeable; for he ſaw his hopes annihilated, and that fortune, as very often happens in worldly affairs, had ſuddenly turned againſt him, at a time when it was the leaſt expected: for he had left England well accompanied with men at arms, and with every expectation of finiſhing his campaign in a different manner. It was told him that his adverſary had regained, within fifteen days after he had left the country, all his conqueſts, which had occupied him ſix weeks.

His army had been waſted away by ſickneſs, and he deſpaired of any aſſiſtance from home; for the Engliſh were tired of this war, as it was at ſuch a diſtance, and the accounts they had heard of the country diſguſted them: beſides, the duke knew that England was much troubled within itſelf. He foreſaw little hope of amendment in his affairs; and though he ſaid not much on this ſubject, he thought a great deal.

At

At times, he compared himſelf and his expedition to the duke of Anjou and his march to Naples; for, when he ſet out from France, he was ſo magnificently equipped, nothing was ever ſeen like to it, and attended by multitudes of knights, ſquires and men at arms; but the end had been, that all were either killed or ruined.

It was not ſurpriſing that the duke, conſidering his hopes were totally deſtroyed, ſhould be ſometimes melancholy; for the count de Foix, who was one of the wiſeſt princes, in converſation with his knights, had declared the duke of Lancaſter's expectations, in regard to the crown of Caſtille, were completely at an end. The duke was, however, of a high ſpirit, and ſought conſolation in the proſpect of the elevation of his children. He had with him a handſome daughter, by the lady Conſtance, daughter of don Pedro, in whoſe right he had made war on Caſtille: he, therefore, muſing on this ſubject, ſaid,—'If fortune is now unfavourable to me, it may be otherwiſe to my daughter, who is young and handſome, and by her grandfather and mother the true heireſs of Caſtille. Some gallant prince of France may ſeek her in marriage, either for the above right, or her high birth; for ſhe may boaſt that ſhe ſprings from the beſt blood in Chriſtendom.' He would gladly have had ſome overtures made him from France on this head; for he knew the king had a younger brother, in the duke of Touraine:

'and,'

'and,' added the duke, 'we might, through this means, recover our inheritance of Caſtille; for it has been ſolely through the aid of France that our adverſary has kept his crown: ſhould that power turn againſt him, which would be the caſe if a marriage took place with the duke of Touraine, he muſt ſpeedily ſurrender his throne to my daughter.'

Such were the expectations the duke of Lancaſter flattered himſelf with, and his imaginations were in a way to be realized; not, indeed, by the king of France's brother, but by one who was well qualified to change the face of affairs in Caſtille, and who had the complete government of France, for without his conſent nothing was done: I mean the duke of Berry.

You have before heard how he and his ſon were made widowers nearly at the ſame time. What I am about to relate, I know from my own knowledge; for I, the author of this book, was at the time in the country of Blois, on the borders of Poitou and Berry, with my very dear and honoured lord, the count Guy de Blois, by whoſe deſire and encouragement this hiſtory was undertaken.

The duke of Berry had, among his other thoughts and plans, a deſign to marry again. He frequently ſaid to thoſe near his perſon, that a lord was nothing without a lady, nor a man without a wife. Thoſe in whom he had the greateſt confidence replied; 'Very well, my lord, marry then your ſon John: your houſe will be more pleaſant, and better managed.'—

'Ah,'

'Ah,' ſaid the duke, 'he is too young.'—'That is nothing, my lord: do not you ſee the count de Blois has married his ſon, who is of the ſame age, with your daughter Mary?'—'That is true,' anſwered the duke: 'well, name then a lady for him.'—'We name the daughter of the duke of Lancaſter.' The duke muſed a while, and was ſome time before he made any reply, when, addreſſing himſelf to them, he ſaid,—'You propoſe marrying my ſon John with my couſin, the daughter of the duke of Lancaſter: by St. Denis, you have made me imagine that ſhe will be an excellent match for myſelf, and I will ſhortly write to the duke on the ſubject. He reſides, as I hear, at Bayonne; and I will ſignify to him that ſome of my council ſhall very ſpeedily wait on him to treat of this marriage with me, I ſay: not for my ſon John, whom I will marry elſewhere.'

Thoſe to whom he had ſpoken, on hearing the above, burſt out into laughter. 'What do you laugh at?' ſaid the duke. 'We laugh, my lord, becauſe it ſeems that you prefer to have a good thing yourſelf, rather than give it your ſon.'—'By my faith, I am in the right; for my fair couſin of Lancaſter will not ſo readily give his daughter to my ſon as he will to me.'

Letters were inſtantly written, and ſent to the duke of Lancaſter. The meſſengers, on their arrival at Bayonne, preſented the letters to the duke, who, having opened them and peruſed their contents, was highly delighted, and made thoſe who had brought them good cheer, giving

them

them to underſtand, that their intelligence was very agreeable to him. The duke returned ſuch anſwers by the meſſengers as ſhewed the propoſal was very ſatisfactory, and had given him much joy.

The meſſengers, on their return, found the duke of Berry in Poitou, but preparing to return to Paris; for the king and the duke of Burgundy had expreſsly ſent for him, to conſider of the ſtate of Brittany. Having read the anſwer from the duke of Lancaſter, which afforded him much pleaſure, he determined to perſevere in the buſineſs, although he could not defer his journey to Paris. He reſolved, however, to proceed in it by the ſhorteſt mode, and ſent letters to one of knights, called ſir Helion de Lignac, who at that time was ſénéſchal of la Rochelle, ordering him to place the town under the government of thoſe he could depend upon, and then, without fail, to haſten to him at Paris.

Sir Helion, on receiving the duke's orders, ſealed with his ſeal, and noticing the haſte in which he was ſummoned to follow him, loſt no time in putting la Rochelle and its dependencies under the command of two valiant knights of Beauce, called ſir Peter de Jouy and the lord Peter Taillepiè. When this was done, he took the ſhorteſt road he could to join the duke, who he knew, from the tenor of his letter, would be impatient to ſee him.

We will return to the duke of Lancaſter at Bayonne, and ſay what were his thoughts on the propoſal from the duke of Berry. He was not willing

ing it ſhould be kept ſecret: on the contrary, he publiſhed it every where, that his enemies might be alarmed, and the matter known in the court of his adverſary of Caſtille. The duke, in conſequence, wrote ſeveral letters, detailing the whole buſineſs, with copies of the duke of Berry's propoſals, and his anſwers of conſent to the count de Foix, becauſe he knew there was a continual intercourſe of knights and ſquires from all countries at Orthès, going or returning to Caſtille, or on pilgrimage to or from Sant Jago. He did the ſame to the king of Navarre, who had married the king of Caſtille's ſiſter, and by whom he had a numerous family, that the intelligence of this marriage might be more readily believed in Caſtille than if told by common report. He wrote alſo on the ſame ſubject to the king of Portugal, but was ſilent reſpecting it in his letters to the king and his brothers in England, for he knew the Engliſh would not be pleaſed at it: Indeed, they gave proofs of their diſlike to this marriage, as ſoon as they heard of it, as I ſhall relate when I am come to that part of my hiſtory; but I muſt now return to the duke of Brittany, as that matter preſſes.

CHAP. XXV.

THE LORD DE COUCY AND OTHER BARONS OF FRANCE ARE SENT TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.—BEFORE THEIR ARRIVAL HE HAD RESTORED TO THE OFFICERS OF THE CONSTABLE THE PLACES HE HAD TAKEN FROM HIM.

ON the duke of Berry's arrival at Paris, many councils were held by thoſe moſt in the confidence of the king and his uncles, ſuch as the biſhops of Langres and Laon, the lord de Coucy and other privy counſellors, as well on the affairs of Gueldres, whither the king was ſtill very deſirous of going, as of Brittany; for the duke would not accept of the advances that had been made him towards a reconciliation with France. They knew not whom they could ſend to make another attempt, ſince the former negotiators had failed. The council were much troubled on this account, for they had learnt that the duke of Brittany had been buſily employed during the winter in victualling again and reinforcing all his towns and caſtles, which plainly indicated his wiſh to have been for war.

The wiſeſt of the council ſaid,—'You talk of going to Germany: you ſhould rather go to Brittany, and deſtroy that inſolent duke, who holds in contempt the crown of France and refuſes to obey its orders. You will not obtain any thing from him by treaty: and his preſumption is ſo great, he muſt be taught his duty: he

neither

neither loves nor eſteems any one but himſelf. It is clear, that if the king go to Germany, and leave the realm unprotected by men at arms, (and unleſs he be handſomely attended, he need not think of it,) this duke will introduce the Engliſh into his country, and give them an entrance to France. The appearances are now very ſtrong that he will do ſo; for there is a large Engliſh fleet on his coaſts, which never leaves them but when forced to it by ſtreſs of weather, and when fair it returns; ſo that I ſee no alternative; you muſt have open war or peace.'

'It would be well,' replied others, 'that we again ſend to him the bishop of Langres and the count de St. Pol, for this laſt is by marriage his brother-in-law.'* 'Oh no, no,' interrupted ſir Yves d'Orient: 'if you will ſend to him again, you cannot ſend one more agreeable to him, nor of greater weight, than the lord de Coucy; for they are connected by marriage, and have always had a great affection for each other; and to the lord de Coucy add whomſoever you pleaſe.'

'Since you have made this propoſal, ſir Yves,' ſaid the duke of Burgundy, 'name thoſe who you think ſhould accompany the lord de Coucy.' 'Willingly,' replied ſir Yves: 'if you pleaſe, then, ſir John de Vienne and the lord de la Riviere ſhall go with him. They are three very

* The duke of Brittany and the count de St. Pol married two daughters of Sir John Holland, earl of Kent.

intelligent lords; and, if any can make him liſten to reaſon, they will.

'We agree to this,' ſaid the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

Although the three lords were inſtructed what they were to ſay, and how to act, and to uſe every amicable means to ſettle the buſineſs, they did not quit Paris immediately. The duke of Brittany heard, before theſe noblemen left France, of their miſſion, but thoſe who had informed him knew not the particulars they were charged with. He was confident, however, it related to matters of great importance, by the lord de Coucy's appointment. He frequently meditated on the ſubject, and opened his thoughts to ſome of the moſt confidential of his council, for them to give him advice how to act. 'It was commonly reported,' he ſaid, 'that the duke of Lancaſter was about marrying his daughter in France to the duke of Berry, and that matters had gone ſo far that ſir Helion de Lignac was on his road to Bayonne to conclude the buſineſs with the duke, who was well inclined to it. Such a report ſurpriſed him exceedingly; for the duke of Lancaſter, who was his brother-in-law, had never written to him on the ſubject, and all he knew was from public rumour. This ſilence had not been uſual to him formerly, for whenever any of his affairs had a connection with France, he regularly had informed him of them.'

His council replied,—'Sir, you muſt alter your plans, whatever they may be, or you may be

be too great a loſer, and bring deſtruction on your country. This you should dread; for what occaſion have you to go to war ſince you are now at peace, and they are begging you to remain ſo? Your lady is far gone with child, and you should pay attention that in her ſituation she be not alarmed. The king of Navarre can give you but little ſupport, for he has enough to do himſelf. The duke of Lancaſter is a valiant and wiſe prince; but he marries, as they ſay, his daughter to the duke of Berry. This will be the foundation for a long peace between France and England, and various treaties will be formed in conſequence. You will ſee shortly the king of Caſtille driven from his throne; for, as the French ſeated him on it, they can as eaſily dethrone him: indeed, more eaſily, for they will have the aid of the duke of Lancaſter and the English. We have in truth heard, that the lord de Coucy, the admiral of France and the lord de la Riviere are coming hither, and you may ſuppoſe it muſt be on affairs of the greateſt conſequence to the king and kingdom, or on the matter of the conſtable of France, whoſe cauſe the king has warmly eſpouſed. They are probably ordered to know poſitively what are your intentions, and if you perſiſt in your former opinions. Should this laſt be the caſe, we ſuppoſe (for one may judge tolerably well from appearances) that the immenſe force, now rumoured to be deſtined againſt Gueldres, will be turned againſt you. Now conſider from whom you may expect aſſiſtance, should war be declared

clared by France, as it moſt certainly will be unleſs you conſent to a reconciliation, should the duke of Lancaſter marry his daughter to the duke of Berry; and this he will do, for where can he ally himſelf better in regard to the recovery of his inheritance? The majority of prelates, barons, knights and principal towns of the duchy are in oppoſition to you. We therefore ſay, ſince you aſk our advice, that it is at this moment more than ever requiſite for you to conſider well your ſituation, and to avoid riſking the loſs of your country, which has coſt you ſo much labour and blood to gain. We know how great your hatred is to ſir Oliver de Cliſſon, and that you have mutually shewn your diſlikes to each other; but you muſt ſoften it ſome little, at leaſt in appearance, for ſince the king of France, his uncles and barons have taken up his quarrel, they will ſupport him: he is and will continue their conſtable. Had the late king been alive, who loved him ſo much, and you had acted the ſame, we know it would have coſt the king half his kingdom, but he would have made you ſuffer for the injury done him. The preſent king, his ſon, is young, and does not pay that attention to affairs which may be expected from him, if he live, ten years hence: he is coming on the ſtage, and you are going off. Should you, therefore, engage in a new war with France, after all we have ſaid, it will be contrary to our opinions, and to thoſe of every man who has any attachment to you. *You muſt* diſſemble at preſent what your real

inclinations

inclinations may be. What is to you the holding theſe caſtles from ſir Oliver de Cliſſon, which form part of his inheritance, conſidering the manner in which you gained them? and, whether you have peace or war, they will coſt you more to guard for three years than ever you will gain from them in twelve. Give them back, therefore, handſomely; and when the rumour ſhall be ſpread abroad, for there is no fire without ſmoke, that you have ſo done of your own free-will, you will pacify the anger of many, and greatly pleaſe the duke of Burgundy, who has never interfered ſo much in this buſineſs as he might, had he ſo pleaſed, through the good offices of your couſin the ducheſs of Burgundy: this we know for fact. She has a numerous family, who are now your neareſt relations: recollect, therefore, whence your origin, and who are your connections, and do not eſtrange yourſelf from thoſe with whom you ought to be more ſtrongly united: it will be madneſs if you do, and you will be undeſerving pity for what conſequences may enſue. Have no connection with England: the Engliſh have ſufficient employment at home. They will make you great proteſtations of friendſhip, in order to take their advantage of it, and nothing more: this you know, for you were in your youth brought up among them.'

The duke was much ſtruck on hearing ſuch very forcible reaſoning, and remained ſome time leaning over a window that opened into a court, without making any reply. His council were

ſtanding

ſtanding behind him; and, after ſome muſing, he turned round and ſaid,—'I perceive clearly that you have well and honeſtly adviſed me. I want nothing but good counſel, and yet how can I pretend to cheriſh love where I only feel hate? How can I ever love ſir Oliver de Cliſſon, who has given me ſuch repeated cauſes for hatred? and the thing I moſt repent of in this world is, the not having put him to death when I had him in my caſtle of Ermine.'

'In the name of God, ſir,' replied thoſe near him, 'had you put him to death, you could never have poſſeſſed yourſelf of his eſtates, for there is an appeal from this duchy to the parliament of Paris. John of Brittany and the ſon of the viſcount de Rohan are his heirs by marriage with his two daughters, and would of right have ſucceeded to his eſtates; and you are much blamed for what you have already done reſpecting the three caſtles, by their friends in France. The conſtable has made his complaints to the chamber of parliament at Paris, where ſentence will be given againſt you, for you have no one there to make any defence for what he may accuſe you of. When you ſhall have loſt this cauſe, ſir Oliver de Cliſſon and his heirs will be intitled to follow up the judgment by force of arms; and, ſhould the king and country take part in aſſiſting them, you muſt have a greater power than we know you have at this moment to make any reſiſtance. It will therefore be more to your advantage, if, while this matter is pending, you ſurrender up theſe caſtles, and be thanked

thanked for ſo doing, rather than wait until judgment be given againſt you, with heavy damages. You will alſo regain the good will of your ſubjects, which is certainly worth having, and live in peace with thoſe whoſe affections you ſhould wiſh to preſerve; I mean the king of France, who is your ſovereign and natural lord, and my lord of Burgundy and his children your couſins. You have ſeen an example in your own time in the late earl of Flanders, your couſin-german, who, though a valiant and wiſe prince, was, through extraordinary events, at the latter end of his days, nearly driven out of his inheritance; but, by humbling himſelf to the king of France and his uncles, they aſſiſted him in the recovery of his country.'

'Well,' replied the duke, 'I ſee ſince I have aſked your advice, it will be proper for me to follow what you have ſaid.'

I believe every thing went on well afterwards; at leaſt, ſuch were the appearances; for the duke of Brittany, who had hitherto kept poſſeſſion of the conſtable's caſtles, now remanded his men from them, and gave up their poſſeſſion to the officers of ſir Oliver de Cliſſon. This was the firſt act of moderation on his part: but it did not ſatisfy the king nor council of France, who inſiſted on the reſtitution of the money that had been paid as part of the ranſom, and that the duke ſhould come to Paris, and perſonally make excuſes for his conduct to the king, in the preſence of the peers of France, and ſubmit to ſuch puniſhment as the king and his

his peers might, after great deliberation, adjudge him.

The three envoys to Brittany were well pleaſed when they heard of the reſtitution of the conſtable's caſtles, and the lord de Coucy ſaid,—'Now, gentlemen, we have one obſtacle the leſs to ſurmount, and I ſuppoſe the duke will liſten to what we may have to ſay to him.'

I was told, that before theſe three barons left Paris, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy held ſeveral private conſultations with them, and recommended them to uſe every gentle method to bring matters to a favourable concluſion, in preference to harſh ones; and to prevail on the duke to come to Paris, or at leaſt half way to the town of Blois, where they would meet him and hold a conference together. The three barons, who were prudent and had received their full inſtructions, ſaid, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to comply with their wiſhes. On leaving Paris, they continued their journey until they came to the city of Rennes in Brittany, where, on aſking for the duke, they learnt he was at Vannes, whither they went.

Their coming was already known in the houſehold of the duke, for they had ſent forward ſervants to prepare their lodgings. The duke had aſſembled his council and the principal barons of Brittany near his perſon, to ſhew them the more honour. They were well received on their entering Vannes, by the knights and others of the duke's houſehold, who had gone

gone forth to meet them, and in particular by the lord de Laval, who reſided there.

They diſmounted at their lodgings, and, having dreſſed and refreſhed themſelves with what they there found, re-mounted their horſes, and rode to the caſtle de la Motte, the reſidence of the duke, who met and received them with much joy, telling them they were welcome, for that he was very happy in ſeeing them. He took the lord de Coucy by the hand, and ſhewed him much kindneſs, ſaying,—'Fair brother, you are welcome: I rejoice to ſee you in Brittany: before you leave me, I will give you fine ſport with hunting ſtags, and in hawking.' 'Dear brother and lord,' replied the lord de Coucy, 'I thank you; and I and my companions will cheerfully partake of them.'

The duke ſhewed them every attention, and conducted them, laughing and joking, to his apartments, where they amuſed themſelves with much cheerfulneſs, as great lords are accuſtomed to do who have not ſeen each other for ſome time. All four knew how to keep up a brilliant converſation as well, if not better than any lords I ever ſaw, not excepting the duke of Brabant, the count de Foix, nor the count de Savoy; and, in particular, the lord de Coucy ſhone above all others, as was acknowledged by all lords and ladies, in whatever country he had viſited, whether France, England, Germany, Lombardy, or any other places. He had ſeen much of the world, and had travelled to various parts, to which he was naturally inclined.

During

During the time theſe lords were in converſation, ſpices were brought in handſome ſilver comfit boxes, and fine wines in gold and ſilver cans. The lords partook of both, and ſhortly after took leave and returned to their lodgings. Thus paſſed the firſt day, without one word being ſaid of the cauſe of their coming.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILE HELION DE LIGNAC, AMBASSADOR FROM THE DUKE OF BERRY TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, IS NEGOTIATING THE MARRIAGE WITH HIS DAUGHTER, THE KING OF CASTILLE SENDS AMBASSADORS PRIVATELY TO BREAK IT OFF, AND TO DEMAND THE LADY IN MARRIAGE FOR HIS SON.—HELION DE LIGNAC IS SENT AWAY, THE DAY OF THEIR ARRIVAL, WITH SOME TRUCES RESPECTING THE FRONTIERS OF AQUITAINE.

WE will now return to ſir Helion de Lignac, who had been ſent by the duke of Berry to the duke of Lancaſter. The knight arrived ſafely at Bayonne, and, having diſmounted at his inn, made himſelf ready to wait on the duke, who had already been informed of his arrival, and, as a mark of honour, had ſent two of his knights to viſit him at his hôtel, and to conduct him to him.

Sir Helion, on being introduced to the duke, ſaluted him very profoundly, as was proper, and

and he knew well how to acquit himſelf. The duke received him moſt honourably, raiſed him up in his arms, and took him by the hand to lead him into an apartment, for they had met in the hall. Sir Helion then gave him the letters he had been charged with from the duke of Berry. The duke, having opened and read them, advanced towards ſir Helion, who declared the buſineſs he had been ſent on. The duke very courteouſly replied, and ſaid to ſir Helion, he was welcome; that the matter he was come to treat on was of ſuch importance, it was neceſſary he ſhould deliberate with his council thereon, and that he could not inſtantly give him a decided anſwer.

Sir Helion de Lignac remained at Bayonne with the duke of Lancaſter and his knights upwards of a month, and was treated moſt kindly by words and otherwiſe, and made to underſtand that the duke was not unwilling to accept of the duke of Berry's propoſals; but this was not the fact, for all theſe fine ſpeeches and delays were fictions, and ſolely uſed to give more publicity to what was going forward, more eſpecially that it ſhould be known in the kingdom of Caſtille, for there his affections were placed.

The duke of Lancaſter ſaid to ſir Helion, that if his couſin of Berry married his daughter, he muſt unite all his force with him to wage war on his adverſary of Caſtille, that his daughter's inheritance might be recovered. Sir Helion, in reply, ſaid,—'My lord, I am not charged to ſay any thing reſpecting this matter: you will,

before

before my departure, write down what you expect, and I will carry it to the duke of Berry, whoſe affection is, I know, ſo ſtrong towards you, that he will enter into all reaſonable alliances you may propoſe.' 'We wiſh for nothing more,' ſaid the duke. Things remained in this ſtate during the time of ſir Helion's reſidence at Bayonne, where he was gaily entertained according to the orders the duke had given.

In the mean while, news of this intended marriage was every where ſpread abroad; and, in particular it was carried to the court of king John of Caſtille by thoſe who ſaid,—'Do you know what is going forwards? There are important treaties negotiating with the dukes of Berry and Lancaſter, for a match between the duke of Berry and the lady Catherine; and, if this be concluded, as there ſeems every probability, it will not be done without ſtrong alliances being made between them. The duke of Berry has at this moment great power: he is the elder uncle of the king of France, and takes the lead in the government of that country. He will ſucceed in whatever he may propoſe, as to peace or long truces with England: and, on the other hand, the duke of Lancaſter ſtands in the ſame relation to the king of England, is wiſe and of great power; and, as it ſhould ſeem, the Engliſh are tired of war. If therefore, by means of this connection with France, a firm peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed with England, we ſhall have the war to ſupport alone; for the duke of Lancaster will not give up tamely his

claims

claims on Caſtille, but, on the contrary, inſiſt on eſtabliſhing them, as his daughter's lawful inheritance and dower. We ſhall thus have war with France and England.'

Thoſe moſt in the confidence of the king of Caſtille ſaid to him,—'Sire, have you heard the rumours that are abroad? You had never ſuch need of good advice as at this moment. The dangers from the duke of Lancaster are thicker than ever, and the blaſt comes from France.' 'How!' replied the king: 'what do you mean?' 'In the name of God, ſir, the report is every where current, that the duke of Berry is to marry the duke of Lancaster's daughter, and you may ſuppoſe this will not be done without great alliances being made between them; and you may in future ſuffer as much from the French as you have lately gained by them.'

The king on hearing this, was very penſive, for he knew what they had ſaid was true. He demanded advice from thoſe who had ever been attached to him, how, in ſuch a circumstance, he ought to act, and they gave him loyal and good counſel, as I will relate.

You have before heard, in this history, how king Henry of Caſtille had made his peace with the king of Arragon, on condition that his ſon John, the preſent king of Caſtille, married his daughter. This marriage brought peace to the two countries. King John had one ſon by this lady, who ſhortly after died; and then, by the advice of his council, he married again with the lady Beatrice, daughter to the king of Portugal.

tugal. The ſon, by the princeſs of Arragon, was a promiſing youth, though very young.

The council of Caſtille, in reply to the king's demand, ſaid,—'Sire, we can only ſee one remedy to avert the evils that may be conſequent to this marriage with the duke of Berry.' 'What is it?' asked the king. 'It is the infant don Henry your ſon, who is alone capable of preventing this match; for we are perſuaded, that if the duke and ducheſs of Lancaster were informed you were willing to unite him with the lady Catherine, they would prefer him to the duke of Berry.' 'In God's name,' anſwered the king, 'you ſay well, and I will instantly ſet about it; for our ſubjects will be quite ſatisfied, that by ſuch a marriage they will have peace with England on ſea and land. Now, conſider of the most proper perſons to ſend to treat with the duke of Lancaster.'

'Sire, it is neceſſary you should, in this matter, employ thoſe of the greatest prudence and ſagacity, and that it be treated with the utmost ſecrecy, leſt you incur the hatred of the king of France. Great jealouſies are now abroad, and perſons are more eager to report ſcandal than good actions, for evil reports are ſooner made public than others. When it shall be told to the court of France that you are in treaty with the duke of Lancaster, they will wish to know the ſubject and the particulars, leſt it may prejudice the strong alliance the late king, your father, of worthy memory, entered into with them, and on which account the French have aſſisted you

in

in your wars. You muſt, therefore, ſend to the duke of Lancaſter wiſe and diſcreet perſons, that the matter may be ſecretly treated, and kept private until all things be completely ſettled.'

'What you have ſaid is right,' replied the king: 'now name thoſe whom you think capable of accompliſhing the matter.'

'Sire,' ſaid they, 'we will ſend your confeſſor, father Fernando de Torre, and the biſhop of Geghene*, who was confeſſor to the late king, and Peter Gardelempos, who is a great orator.' 'Be it ſo then,' anſwered the king: 'I conſent, let them be ſent for, and inſtructed what they are to ſay, and how to act; for formerly, when there was a treaty of peace in agitation, they were not liſtened to by the duke of Lancaſter, who inſiſted, as a preliminary, that I ſhould lay down my crown, and this I will never do.'

The three above-mentioned perſons were ſummoned to Burgos, where the king reſided, and told from him on what object they were to be ſent to Bayonne, to treat with the duke of Lancaſter. They profeſſed themſelves willing to undertake it to the beſt of their abilities, and ſet out on their journey with few attendants, not like to ambaſſadors going to form alliances, for they were not certain what ſucceſs they ſhould have. On entering Navarre, they made for Pampeluna, the reſidence of the king, who had married the

* Geghene. Q.

king of Caſtille's ſiſter. She entertained them kindly, but they did not diſcover to her, nor to the king, the cauſe of their journey. They paſſed over the mountains of Pampeluna and Roncevalles, through the country of the Baſques, and arrived at the good town of Bayonne.

At the time of their arrival, ſir Helion de Lignac was ſtill there, but made no long ſtay afterwards; for father Fernando, the king of Caſtille's confeſſor, waited privately on the duke of Lancaſter, as better acquainted with him than the others, and gave him to underſtand the cauſe of their coming, and by whom they were ſent.

The duke, on hearing this, opened his ears, for the intelligence was highly agreeable to him, and bade father Fernando a hearty welcome. This ſame day he gave ſir Helion de Lignac leave to depart; and it ſeems to me that the duke conſented to a truce for thoſe who were carrying on the war under his name in the ſeneſchalſhips of Aquitaine, Bigorre, Toulouſe and other places, comprehending all within the river Loire, but not beyond it, to laſt until the firſt day of May 1389. This truce had been requeſted by the duke of Berry, that his people might paſs and repaſs from him to the duke of Lancaſter with greater ſecurity; for thoſe of Mortagne ſur mer, Bouteville, and the garriſons in Quercy, Perigord, and on the Garonne, were very cruel, ſparing none, and acknowledging no lord. It was to keep theſe people in better order that the duke of Berry had ſolicited a truce, which was well obſerved.

Sir

Sir Helion de Lignac left the duke of Lancaſter on terms of the ſtrongeſt affection, and he ſeemed ſenſible things were in the train he wiſhed them, for the duke ſeemed very well ſatisfied with what the duke of Berry had offered. He had indeed declared, that he never could marry his daughter in France without the cenſent of his nephew the king of England and the Engliſh council; but matters were now ſo far advanced, he ſeemed to think there would not be any great difficulty to obtain them. On theſe aſſurances, ſir Helion returned to France, delivered letters from the duke of Lancaſter to the duke of Berry, and related to him all that had paſſed; with which he was much ſatisfied.

We will now ſpeak of the ambaſſadors from Caſtille. Theſe were indeed cordially liſtened to by the duke and ducheſs, for their hearts were wrapped up in their hopes of regaining the crown for themſelves or their child. They were very kindly received on their introduction at the caſtle by the duke and ducheſs, to whom they delivered their credential letters, and explained the object of their miſſion. They firſt propoſed a treaty of peace with Caſtille, which the father-confeſſor diſcourſed much on, in the apartment of the duke where only the ducheſs was preſent, who interpreted to the duke what he did not underſtand, as ſhe had in her youth been educated in Caſtille and underſtood the language perfectly well.

The duke of Lancaſter, at this firſt interview, did not diſcover his real ſentiments, although he

entertained them well, but ſaid it would be difficult to exchange ſuch hatred for peace, and to eſtabliſh it with one whom they wanted to diſinherit, and that it was not his intention to relinquiſh his claim to the crown of Caſtille. The friar and biſhop replied, 'that there was one means of reconciling his right and the right of their lord and king; and, my lord, we have found it.' 'What is it?' ſaid the duke, 'Sir, you have by your lady a beautiful daughter, of an age to marry, and our lord of Caſtille has a handſome and young ſon: if an union between thoſe two could be brought about, the kingdom of Caſtille would have peace for ever; for what you claim will fall where it ought, to your own heir, who is the lineal deſcendant from our kings of Caſtille; and all the fatigues you have undergone in this war muſt have been for the ultimate ſucceſſion of this young lady.'

'That is true,' replied the duke; 'but I muſt have my expenſes reimburſed, for I would have you know that my expedition to Caſtille has coſt England and me upwards of five hundred thouſand francs. I ſhould like, therefore, to hear what you ſay of repayment.' 'My lord,' ſaid the confeſſor, 'if what we have propoſed ſhall be agreeable to you, we will manage all other things to your perfect ſatisfaction.'

'Your coming hither,' replied the duke, 'has given us pleaſure; and I ſhall certainly marry my daughter, before I return to England, to Caſtille or France, as I have had propoſals from thence;

but

but matters like theſe are of ſuch importance, that an anſwer cannot be given at the firſt overture.---With regard to my daughter, whom I conſider as the rightful heireſs of Caſtille, I would be well acquainted with him who ſhould marry her.' 'That is but reaſonable, my lord,' ſaid the confeſſor.

Thus, as I have related, were the propoſals of marriage made from France and Caſtille, to the duke of Lancaſter, for the marriage of his daughter. They were both well received, refuſals made to neither, and the ambaſſadors well entertained. The marriage, however, with Caſtille was more agreeable to the duke and ducheſs, becauſe their daughter would in due time become queen of Caſtille.

We will now leave the duke of Lancaſter, and return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE DUKES OF BERRY AND BURGUNDY LEAVE PARIS FOR BLOIS, TO HOLD A CONFERENCE WITH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, WHO MEETS THEM THERE.---THEY PERSUADE HIM, AGAINST HIS INCLINATION, TO COME TO PARIS.

THE duke of Brittany, as I have ſaid, received the French knights with much kindneſs, more particularly the lord de Coucy, whom he had been deſirous to ſee. I was informed at the time, the lord de Coucy was the moſt inſtrumental in making the duke change his mind: not but that ſir John de Vienne and the lord de la Riviere exerted themſelves to the ſame purpoſe, but all princes, when they are entreated, will naturally incline to ſome perſons more than others.

The duke of Brittany conſented, with great difficulty, to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy at Blois: after many fair ſpeeches, he ſaid he would go thither, but not one ſtep farther. The lord de Coucy replied, that they aſked nothing more, unleſs it ſhould be perfectly agreeable to him. Theſe three lords ſtaid with the duke of Brittany I know not how many days, and then returned to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to tell them their ſucceſs.

Upon

Upon this, the two dukes made preparations for going to meet the duke of Brittany at Blois, and ſent before all purveyances ſuitable to their rank. The duke of Berry arrived firſt at the caſtle, where he was kindly received by the counteſs of Blois, his ſon and her daughter, as was becoming him and them.

Count Guy de Blois was not at this time in the country, but at Châtel Regnaud, and, as the counteſs and her children were at home, he paid no attention to the arrival of the duke of Berry. The duke of Burgundy came in a grand ſtyle, accompanied by his ſon-in-law, lord William of Hainault, count d'Oſtrevant, and his ſon John of Burgundy, called count de Nevers. The duke was alſo lodged in the caſtle, and held there his court.

The duke of Brittany came laſt, but with no great array, attended only by thoſe of his houſehold, in number about three hundred horſe; for it was his intention to return to his own country as ſoon as theſe conferences ſhould be over. Such, however, were not the intentions of the other dukes; for they ſaid, whether he would or not they would force him to come to Paris. The duke of Brittany was lodged at the houſe of a canon of St. Sauveur, within the caſtle; but his attendants, with thoſe of the other lords, were quartered in the town. Theſe princes kept their ſtate in the caſtle, which is large, and one of the handſomeſt in the kingdom of France.

Conferences were held between the three dukes; and thoſe of France gave handſome entertainments

ments to the duke of Brittany, ſhewing him much affection, and repeatedly thanking him for coming to Blois. The duke diſſembled as well as he could, and ſaid, that indeed it was from his love to them he had undertaken ſuch a journey, for that he was very unwell. In the courſe of their converſations they told the duke of Brittany, that ſince he had come ſo far, he would have done nothing if he did not continue his journey to Paris, for the king was very anxious to ſee him. The duke made every excuſe for not complying with this propoſal, ſaying his health was too bad to go ſo far; that he had not brought any attendants with him, but ſimply thoſe of his houſehold, meaning to return home directly.

They kindly anſwered, that, begging his pardon, it would not be decorous for him to viſit his lord paramount with too large a company; that if he were too ill to ride, they were provided with litters and cars that ſhould be at his ſervice; and that he was bound to pay his homage to the king, which he had never yet done.

The duke of Brittany, in excuſe, ſaid, that when the king ſhould be of age, and take the reins of government, he would come to Paris, or to any other place whither he might order him, to perform his homage, for he was bounden ſo to do. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy replied, that he was of ſufficient age and underſtanding to receive homage; and that every lord of France, and all who held fiefs under the crown, exeepting himſelf, had done their homage, for the king was now

now in his twenty-firſt year. The duke of Brittany, finding his excuſes of no avail, ſaid.---'Should I go to Paris, it will be much againſt my inclination, and very prejudicial to my intereſts; for, when there, I ſhall meet ſir Oliver de Cliſſon, whom I hate, and we can never cordially love each other after what has paſſed: he will make me bitter and injurious reproaches, and conſider what may be the conſequences.' 'Oh no,' anſwered the two dukes, but in particular the duke of Burgundy, 'fair couſin, have no fear from that quarter; for we ſolemnly ſwear to you, that neither the conſtable nor John of Brittany, unleſs you wiſh it, ſhall ſee or ſpeak with you: of this be aſſured: but you ſhall ſee the king, who is anxious for it, and the barons and knights of France, who will make you good cheer; and when you have completed the object of your journey, you ſhall return home without hindrance or hurt.'

Why ſhould I make a long ſtory? The duke of Brittany was ſo ſweetly entreated, that he conſented to go to Paris; but he inſiſted that he ſhould never ſee the conſtable of France nor John of Brittany, and that they ſhould never be in the ſame company with him. The two dukes ſolemnly pledged themſelves to all his requeſts; and on their faith he engaged to ſet out for Paris. They remained five or ſix days in the caſtle of Blois, and alternately gave grand entertainments to each other, the counteſs and her children.

Every thing having been ſo ſettled, the two duke took leave of the duke of Brittany and returned

turned to Paris; but the lord William of Hainault did not accompany his father-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. He attended the countefs of Blois and her family to châtel Regnaud, to vifit count Guy de Blois, where he was kindly received and entertained for three days, when he took leave of them and went to Paris, by way of Chateau-dun* and Bonneval†.

CHAP. XXVIII.

LEWIS OF ANJOU, SON TO THE LATE DUKE OF ANJOU, UNCLE TO KING CHARLES VI. MAKES HIS PUBLIC ENTRY INTO PARIS AS KING OF SICILY.---THE DUKE OF BRITTANY COMES THERE SHORTLY AFTER.---THOMAS HAPURGAN, AN ENGLISHMAN, AND JOHN DES BARRES, A FRENCHMAN, PERFORM A DEED OF ARMS BEFORE THE KING OF FRANCE AT MONTEREAU SUR YONNE‡.

THE duke of Brittany went to Beaugency, on the Loire, where he made his preparations for going to Paris. But before he came thither,

* Chateau-dun, an ancient town in Beauce, diocefe of Blois, twelve leagues from Chartres, thirty-four from Paris.

† Bonneval, a town in Beauce, four leagues from Chateau-dun.

‡ Montereau fur Yonne, a town in Brie, feven leagues from Melun, twenty and a half from Paris.

there

there arrived the queen of Sicily and Jeruſalem, widow of the late duke of Anjou, who had borne the title of king of thoſe countries, as well as of Naples. She had brought with her her young ſon Lewis, who throughout France was acknowledged as king of Naples, and was likewiſe accompanied by her brother, John of Brittany.

Before ſhe entered Paris, ſhe ſignified to her brothers, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, her arrival, with her ſon Lewis, their nephew, and deſired to know whether he ſhould make his entry as king, or ſimply as duke of Anjou. The two dukes, having conſidered the matter, ſent for anſwer, that they deſired he would make his entry as king of Naples, Sicily, and Jeruſalem, although he was not as yet in poſſeſſion of theſe kingdoms; for they would aſſiſt him, and prevail on the king of France to do the ſame, ſo effectually, that he ſhould recover thoſe territories, and peaceably poſſeſs them as his right, and what they had moſt ſacredly promiſed to perform to their late brother the king of Naples.

The lady, upon this, made preparations accordingly; and, having entered Paris, her ſon paſſed in grand cavalcade, through the ſtreet of St. James, to his hôtel in the Grêve, with kingly ſtate, accompanied by numbers of dukes, counts and prelates. The queen and her ſon, having eſtabliſhed themſelves there, waited on the king, who reſided at the caſtle of the Louvre, expecting the duke of Brittany.

The

The duke of Brittany, on his approach to Paris, ſtopped one night at Bourg la Reine, previous to his entry which he made on the morrow. This was great news for the Pariſians, on account of the late events of the arreſt and impriſonment of the conſtable, and the fruitleſs embaſſies that had been ſent to ſummon him: his late conduct and his coming now as it were, of his own free will, were variouſly ſpoken of. It was on a Sunday, the vigil of St. John Baptiſt's feaſt, in the year 1388, at ten o'clock in the morning. The duke of Brittany entered Paris by the gate de l'Enfer*, and, paſſing the whole length of the rue de la Harpe, croſſed the point de Saint Michel, and came in front of the palace. He was handſomely accompanied by numbers of barons and knights; among whom was the lord William of Hainault, count d'Oſtrevant: his brother-in-law John of Burgundy, and the lord William de Namur rode before him.

When he arrived at the caſtle of the Louvre, he diſmounted, and, as he paſſed through Paris, was much ſtared at by the common people.

The duke entered the gate of the Louvre well prepared what to ſay, and how to act. He was preceded by the lord de Coucy, the count de Savoye, ſir John de Vienne, ſir Guy de la Trimouille, ſir John de Beuil, the count de Meaux, ſir

* De l'Enfer. It is now the gate of Saint Michel. For more particulars, ſee Sauval, Antiquités de Paris, tom. i. p. 36.

Reginald

Reginald de Roye and ſir John des Barres: nearer to him, on each ſide, were the lord William de Namur, John of Burgundy and the count d'Oſtrevant: behind him were, the lord de Montfort in Brittany, and the lord de Maleſtroit, his relation and miniſter.

There was a great crowd in the apartment, which was not only ſmall, but the table was ſpread in it for the king's dinner, who was ſtanding before it with his three uncles of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon. The moment the duke of Brittany entered the room, way was made for him, and an opening formed to the king, by the lords falling on each ſide. When in the preſence, he dropped on one knee, but ſpeedily aroſe, and advanced about ten or twelve paces, when he again kneeled: on riſing, he came cloſe to the king, kneeled the third time, and ſaluted him bare-headed, ſaying, 'My lord, I am come to ſee you: may God preſerve you!' 'Many thanks,' replied the king. 'I was anxious for your coming: we will ſee and converſe with you at our leiſure.' On which he took him by the hand, and raiſed him up. When the duke had riſen, he bowed to all the princes preſent, one after the other, and then ſtood oppoſite to the king without ſaying a word; but the king never took his eyes off him.

A ſignal was made to the maſters of the houſehold to bring water, when the king waſhed, and the duke of Brittany held the baſon and towel.

When the king was ſeated, the duke took leave of him and of his uncles. The lord de Coucy, the lord

lord de Saint Pol, and other great barons conducted him to the court where his horſes waited, and, having mounted, he returned with his attendants the way they had come, through the ſtreet de la Harpe, and diſmounted at his hôtel. None of thoſe who had attended him remained, excepting ſuch as had accompanied him from Brittany to Paris.

The duke of Brittany had frequent conferences with the king of France and his uncles to their mutual ſatisfaction; and they religiouſly kept the promiſe they had made him, for he never ſaw, during his ſtay at Paris, John of Brittany nor the conſtable of France. When affairs were in ſo good a train that they had not reaſon to be ſuſpicious of the duke of Brittany, (for, if he had not conſented to every thing the king and his council wiſhed, they would never have ſuffered him to eſcape from their hands, as they now had him in Paris,) they thought it time to prepare for the expedition to Gueldres, for which the king was impatient, to puniſh the duke of Gueldres for the inſolent and rude challenge he had ſent him; which, the more it was conſidered, was the leſs to be borne.

The lord de Coucy was therefore ordered into the country, near Rheims and Châlons in Champagne, to mark out the line of march for the king and his army, and to excite the knights and ſquires of Bar and Lorraine to join him. He was in no way to introduce the king's name, but to engage them for himſelf, as if preparing for an expedition

expedition into Auſtria. Upon this, the lord de Coucy left Paris, and went to Châlons, where he reſided about one month, and retained knights and ſquires from all parts in Bar, Lorraine, Champagne and in the Rethelois.

The king of France, after ſeveral conferences with the duke of Brittany, left Paris, though the duke's pleadings in his courts were not near concluded; for their proceedings, when they chooſe, are very tedious, and they make the ſuitors ſpend much money without any great advances in their ſuits.

The king went to Montereau ſur Yonne, on the borders of Brie and the Gatinois, where he held his court, and frequently amuſed himſelf with hunting ſtags and other animals in the adjacent foreſts.

During the reſidence of the king at Montereau, a deed of arms was there performed between an Engliſh knight attached to the duke of Ireland, called ſir Thomas Hapurgan, and ſir John des Barres. This duel had made a great noiſe throughout France, and in other countries; and it was to be fought with five courſes of the lance on horſeback, five thruſts with ſwords, the ſame number of ſtrokes with daggers and battle-axes; and, ſhould their armour fail, they were to be ſupplied anew, until it were perfect.

The knights, being well armed, mounted their courſers to perform their duel, in the preſence of the king, his barons and knights, and a great concourſe of people. They tilted on horſeback four

four courſes very ſtiffly, and kept their ſeats well. It was then the cuſtom, I believe, to lace on the helmets with a ſlight thong, that they might not make too great reſiſtance to the blow of the lance. At the fifth courſe, John des Barres ſtruck his opponent ſo violent a blow on the ſhield, that he knocked him over the crupper of his horſe to the ground. Sir Thomas was ſtupified by the fall, and it was with much difficulty he could be raiſed: however, he recovered well enough to perform his other courſes with the different arms, to the ſatisfaction of the king and his lords.

CHAP. XXIX.

PERROT LE BEARNOIS TAKES THE FIELD BY COMMAND OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, WHO LANDS HIS FORCES AT MARANS*, NEAR LA ROCHELLE.

I HAVE been ſome time ſilent reſpecting the expedition that was at ſea under the command of the earl of Arundel: it is now neceſſary I ſhould ſpeak of it. You have before heard the cauſe of its being ſent from England, and the treaties that were made between the king and the duke of Brittany. This fleet had remained the whole ſeaſon on

* Marans, a town in Aunis, four leagues from la Rochelle.

the

the coaſts of Brittany and Normandy, except when driven off by ſtorms, but it always returned to its ſtation. There were in this fleet ſome light veſſels called Balleniers, which are much uſed by Corſairs; for, as they draw little water, they can the eaſier approach the ſhores. This fleet had lain at anchor upwards of a month off the iſland of Brehat, whence it had got proviſion. As it was not far from la Rochederrien, they heard that the duke of Brittany was gone to Blois, to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who had held ſuch fair language as perſuaded him to go to Paris, where he had been ſo well received by the king, as to prevent him from leaving that place until every thing had been ſatisfactorily ſettled.

The earl of Arundel was much caſt down when he heard the above, and called a council of his principal officers, to conſider how they were to employ their force during the remainder of the ſeaſon. In this council they reſolved to ſail for la Rochelle and make war on that country; for, though they had not any caſtles in thoſe parts, yet they were in ſufficient numbers to withſtand the force Saintonge or Poitou could ſend against them. They intended likewiſe to make their ſituation known to their friends in Limouſin and Auvergne, by ſome perſon in their fleet that was acquainted with the country, whom they would land on the coaſt of Brittany.

The truces which ſir Helion de Lignac had obtained from the duke of Lancaſter had not yet taken effect. They were to commence on

the firſt of Auguſt, and the knight was at this time going or returning, I know not which, to or from the duke of Lancaſter at Bayonne.

It fell out juſt as the earl of Arundel and the Engliſh barons wiſhed; for they found out a man from lower Brittany, who ſerved under ſir William Helimon, then on board, who came from near Vannes, and underſtood four languages perfectly well, that of lower Brittany, Engliſh, Spaniſh and French. Before they landed him on the ſand, they gave him the following orders: 'Thou wilt go by all the bye-roads in this country, which thou ſayeſt thou art acquainted with, until thou ſhalt come to Chaluçet *. Thou wilt ſalute Perrot le Béarnois, from us, and tell him, that we deſire he will take the field, with as many other garriſons of our party as he can, and make war on France under our commiſſion. Thou ſhalt not carry any letters for fear thou mighteſt be ſtopped and ſearched. Say, if thou findeſt thyſelf in danger, that thou belongeſt to a wine-merchant of la Rochelle, who had ſent thee with ſome commiſſions, and thou wilt paſs every where. Tell Perrot to give inſtant alarm to Berry, Auvergne and Limouſin, by taking the field; for we will diſembark near la Rochelle, and make ſuch a war that he ſhall ſoon hear of us.'

The Breton ſaid, he would faithfully deliver the meſſage, unleſs he was ſtopped on the road. On being landed, as he knew well the country

* Chaluçet, a town in Limouſin, near Pierre-buffiere.

of

of Brittany, he avoided all great towns, and, paſſing ſafely through Poitou and Limouſin, arrived at Chaluçet, of which Perrot le Béarnois was governor. On coming to the barriers, having made acquaintance with the garriſon, they allowed him to enter, after examining him at the gates, and led him to Perrot, to whom he punctually delivered the meſſage, to the great joy of the governor, who had been long impatient to hear ſome news of the fleet, and now he had it quite freſh. He ſaid to the Breton,—'Thou art welcome: my companions and myſelf are very eager to take the field, which we will now ſpeedily do, and then act as we are ordered.'

Perrot le Béarnois inſtantly ſent to the governors of Carlat, the bourg de Compane, to Olim Barbe, captain of Ouzach, to Amerigot Marcel, captain of Aloiſe, near Saint Flour, and to the captains of the other forts in Auvergne and Limouſin, to ſay he was about to take the field, as the ſeaſon was now favourable, and deſiring they would join him, after having left garriſons in their forts ſtrong enough to prevent any accident during their abſence. Theſe companions had as great a deſire to take the field as Perrot le Béarnois; for they could only enrich themſelves by the loſſes of others, and, making their preparations in haſte, came to Chaluçet, where the general aſſembly had been fixed. They amounted to full four hundred lances, and thought themſelves in ſufficient ſtrength for any gallant enterpriſe, and that

there was not a lord in the country able to withſtand them; for ſir William de Lignac and Bonne-lance would not, on their account, break up the ſiege of Ventadour.

Being maſters of the country, they began their march through Auvergne, towards Berry, becauſe they knew the duke was with the king at Montereau ſur Yonne. We will, for a while, leave Perrot le Bearnois, and ſpeak of the earl of Arundel and his fleet, and what they did on quitting the coaſt of Brittany.

When they weighed anchor, the weather was ſo fine and beautiful, they hoiſted every ſail, and advanced as it pleaſed God. It was a magnificent ſight to view this fleet of ſix ſcore veſſels, whoſe ſtreamers, emblazoned with the arms of the different lords, were glittering in the ſun, and fluttering with the wind. They floated as it were on a ſea that ſeemed proud to bear them, and which might be compared to a vigorous courſer, who, after being long confined in the ſtable, gains its liberty to bound over the plains: for thus did the ſea, gently ruffled by the wind, ſwell on with a burden it was luſtily bearing, and, figuratively ſpeaking, it may be ſuppoſed to ſay,—'I delight in carrying you, and will do ſo without danger, until you be arrived in a ſafe harbour.'

The fleet coaſted Saintonge and Poitou, and caſt anchor off Marans, near la Rochelle. Some of the moſt adventurous, to the amount of two hundred, obſerving the tide was flowing, entered their barges, and ſailed up the river to the

town

town of Marans. The watch on the caſtle had noticed the Engliſh fleet anchoring, and the barges aſcending the river with the tide, and had ſounded his horn frequently, to alarm the townſmen, that they might ſave all they could of their property. The inhabitants, of both ſexes, carried their moſt valuable things to the caſtle for ſafety; and it was well they did ſo, or they would have been loſt. While the Engliſh were landing, they diſcontinued ſaving their property, to take care of their lives.

The Engliſh, on entering the town, began to pillage it, for this had been the object of their coming, but they only found empty coffers: their contents had been carried to the caſtle. They diſcovered, however, plenty of corn, wine and ſalted proviſions: for there were upwards of four hundred tons of wine in the town. They reſolved to remain to guard this proviſion, which came very opportunely to them; for, ſhould they depart, they imagined the greater part would be carried away by the French, up the river, to Fontenay le Comte. They remained this night in the place, having arrived there only about veſpers, and gave themſelves full liberty, ſending, however, to inform their companions of their ſituation, and the reaſon why they did not return.

The earl of Arundel and the other lords were ſatisfied, and ſaid they had acted right. On the morrow, when the tide began to flow, the ſmaller veſſels weighed anchor, and in them were embarked the armour and other neceſſaries from the

the large ſhips that, from their ſize, could not enter the river. There were left in them one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers to guard them, as they lay at anchor off the mouth of the river. When this had been done, they ſailed for Marans, and landed at their leiſure, for none came to oppoſe them, and fixed their quarters between Marans and la Rochelle, which is but four ſhort leagues diſtant. The alarm was ſoon ſpread over the country that the English had landed at Marans, to the amount of four hundred combatants, including archers. The towns and caſtles in the low country were much frightened, and the villagers inſtantly fled to the neighbouring foreſts for protection.

CHAP. XXX.

THE ROCHELLERS SKIRMISH WITH THE ENGLISH NEAR MARANS.—THE ENGLISH, AFTER PILLAGING THE COUNTRY ROUND, RETIRE WITH THEIR BOOTY TO THEIR FLEET.—PERROT LE BEARNOIS DOES THE SAME TO HIS FORT, WITH A GREAT DEAL OF PLUNDER.

IF the English had had horſes, they would have much harraſſed the country round la Rochelle; for it was void of men at arms, at leaſt ſuch as could have oppoſed them ſucceſsfully. True it is, that the lords de Partenay, de Pons, de Linieres, de Tannaybouton, ſir Geoffry

Geoffry d'Argenton, the lord de Montendre, ſir Aimery de Rochechouart, the viſcount de Thouars, and many other knights and ſquires of Poitou and Saintonge, were in the country, but each was in his own caſtle; for they had not any ſuſpicions of the English coming to invade them.

Had they been ſo fortunate as to obtain notice of their intentions, they would have been prepared to receive them, but it was not ſo; and the ſurpriſe was ſo great, that all were frightened, and impatient to ſave what they could. The farmers began to haſten their harveſt of corn, for it was the beginning of Auguſt. Add to this, there was not then in the country any perſon to take the lead. The lieutenant of Poitou, the duke of Berry, was at Montereau: the ſénéſchal of Poitou was juſt gone to Paris: the ſénéſchal of Saintonge was from home: the ſénéſchal of la Rochelle, ſir Helion de Lignac, was at Bayonne, on the buſineſs of the duke of Berry, by which the country was left defenceleſs; for, from want of heads, their courage failed, and without that nothing effectual can be done.

The country was much alarmed for two cauſes: they had the English army and fleet on one ſide, and rumour had already informed them that Perrot le Béarnois was on his march, with more than fifteen hundred combatants, and had already entered Berry. They knew not what meaſures to adopt, except that of placing their wealth in ſafety; for it was ſaid theſe two armies were to form a junction in Saintonge or Poitou, as was the intention of many.

There were indeed, at the time the Engliſh landed at Marans, two gallant knights from Beauce in the town of la Rochelle, ſir Peter de Jouy and the lord Taillepié, whom ſir Helion de Lignac had placed there for its defence, when he ſet out to meet the duke of Berry at Paris. They had acquitted themſelves ably; and on hearing that the armament under the earl of Arundel, which had been much talked of all the ſummer, had diſembarked at Marans, they told the mayor and the principal citizens, for it is a populous place, that it would be right to beat up the Engliſh quarters, and added,—'We hear they have eſtabliſhed themſelves at Marans, and lay the ſurrounding country under contribution: we two are determined to bid them welcome, and they ſhall pay us, or we will repay them for what they have done. Great blame and reproaches will fall on us, to whom has been committed the government of this town and country, if we ſuffer them quietly to fix their quarters there. There is one thing much in our favour: they have not any horſes, and are for the moſt part ſailors, whilſt we are all well mounted. We will ſend our croſs-bows before us, to awaken them with a ſhower of arrows; and, when they have made their attack, they will return homeward: the Engliſh will ſoon be on foot, and we will then charge them, and, by being on horſeback, may do them great miſchief.'

Thoſe who heard this ſpeech approved of it, and inſtantly aſſembled a body of twelve hundred croſs-bows and varlets, including all ſorts.

At

At the firſt dawn of day, they were all prepared, and ſet out from la Rochelle at a good pace, to beat up the quarters of the Engliſh. During this, the horſe got ready, and they were about three hundred, for many knights and ſquires had haſtened to la Rochelle on the firſt intelligence of the Engliſh having landed at Marans. They left the town under the command of the two knights before named.

Had the Engliſh fortunately had any ſuſpicion of this attack from the Rochellers, and had formed an ambuſcade of two hundred archers and one hundred men at arms, not one would ever have returned to la Rochelle.

When the croſs-bowmen arrived at the Engliſh quarters, it was very early morn; and lucky it was for them that the guard, who had watched all night, was retired at ſun-riſe. The croſs-bowmen began to ſhoot their bolts and arrows, which paſſed through the huts made of boughs and leaves, to the great ſurpriſe of the English who were aſleep within ſide on ſtraw. Many were wounded before they diſcovered they were attacked by the French. When they had made each about ſix shots, they retreated, according to their orders, and the men at arms advanced on horſeback amidſt the English huts.

Knights and ſquires ſpeedily left their lodgings, and drew up together; and the French captains, ſeeing they were preparing themſelves in earneſt to take the field, made after their croſs-bows and infantry, who were haſtening homeward, for they were much afraid of the English

arrows.

arrows. Thus hurrying, and in diſmay, were the Rochellers purſued, though the horſe guarded the rear, to the town of la Rochelle. The earl of Arundel with upwards of four hundred men at arms was cloſely following, each man with his lance in his hand or on his ſhoulder. There was much crowding and difficulty to paſs the gates; and ſir Peter de Jouy and the lord Taillepié fought like valiant heroes in defending their men, keeping ſtill on their rear, until they were come to the barriers. They were ſo hard preſſed by the English, who were at their heels, they ran a great hazard of being ſlain or made priſoners; for the attack was the more vigorous againſt them as it was viſible they were the commanders. Sir Peter de Jouy had his courſer killed under him, and was with great difficulty dragged within the barriers. Sir Peter Taillepié was pierced through the thigh with a lance, and hit by an arrow on the helmet which entered his head, and his good horſe fell dead under him at the gate.

There was much ſlaughter made on the Rochellers re-entering the town: upwards of forty dead and wounded lay at the gates. The inhabitants had mounted the battlements, and fired ſo many cannons and bombards that the English dared not approach nearer.

Thus ended this ſkirmish between the English and Rochellers. As it was near noon, the earl of Arundel had ſounded the retreat, when the men at arms and archers retired in handſome array to their quarters, where they diſarmed and refreshed

refreshed themſelves. They had wherewithal, having been amply provided with wines and meat from the ſurrounding country.

The Engliſh lords remained at Marans for fifteen days, waiting for deeds of arms and adventures; but the Rochellers never ventured again to come near them, for they had found to their coſt how valiantly they had defended themſelves. Their two commanders were alſo wounded, which induced the others to wiſh for peace. The earl of Arundel, indeed, had ſent four times parties to overrun the country round la Rochelle, and as far as Thouars, who did much miſchief and terrified the inhabitants. They would have done more had they had horſes; but only a few were mounted on what they could find in the country, and theſe were ſcarce, for no ſooner was the invaſion known thān all the inhabitants of the flat country fled with their ſtock and wealth to the great towns, and there ſhut themſelves up.

When the Engliſh had remained near la Rochelle for fifteen days, without ſeeing any attempt made to oppoſe them, and the wind became fair, they embarked a great quantity of wine and freſh meat they had taken, and, having weighed anchor, put to ſea. This ſame day, they met twelve ſhips from Bayonne, on their voyage to England with Gaſcony wines and other merchandiſe. They ſailed together for ſome time, being much rejoiced at this meeting, for they were well acquainted, and the Bayonnois gave the earl of Arundel two pipes of wine

for

for the love they bore him. The Bayonnois then ſeparated to continue their voyage, and the fleet kept cruiſing about in ſearch of adventures.

While this armament was lying before Marans, Perrot le Béarnois and his companions had taken the field, and, having paſſed Limouſin, had entered Berry. He had with him four hundred ſpears and as many pillagers, and carried off in one day all the merchandiſe that was in the town of le Blanc * in Berry, and gained great wealth and many priſoners, for it was fair-day. He then marched to Selles,† which he plundered. Thus did Perrot le Béarnois maintain himſelf. He advanced far into the interior of the country, doing great miſchief wherever he went, for none ventured to oppoſe him; and all parts were alarmed, even as far as the county of Blois and the Touraine, for they were uncertain whither theſe two armies would march next. Some imagined they would unite; but it was not ſo, for the earl of Arundel had embarked again, as I have mentioned, and Perrot with his companions returned to their ſtrong holds.

When they had completely plundered the country, they thought it would be more ſafe for them to retire to their caſtles and ſecure their gains. They took, in conſequence, the roads through Limouſin and Auvergne to their forts;

* Le Blanc,—in the generality of Bourges, 17 leagues from Poitiers, nine from Argenton.

† Selles, or Celles, three leagues from St. Aignan, ten from Blois.

and

and nothing more was done, as to deeds of arms, in theſe two provinces the remainder of the ſeaſon, for the truce that had been agreed to laſt until the enſuing month of May now took place.

The ſiege of Ventadour by ſir William de Lignac, ſir John Bonne-lance, and ſir John le Bouteiller ſtill continued; for Geoffry Tête-noir was ſo preſumptuous as to pay not the leaſt attention to the truce, nor to the beſiegers, depending on the ſtrength of his caſtle.

We will now, for variety, return to the affairs of Brabant and Gueldres.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE BRABANTERS PRESS GRAVE HARD BY THEIR SIEGE.—THE GUELDRIANS BURN A BRIDGE THE BRABANTERS HAD THROWN OVER THE MEUSE, TO ENTER GUELDRES.

YOU have before read how anxious the duchеſs of Brabant was to make war on the duke of Gueldres, and to beſiege Grave. There was a great force of knights and ſquires from the principal towns before it, who declared their intentions were not to depart until they had gained poſſeſſion of it; and the duchеſs, to ſhow how intereſted ſhe was in the matter, had come to reſide at Bois le Duc, four leagues diſtant from it.

The beſieging army was plentifully ſupplied with all things that came thither by ſea, or

down

down the Meuſe, from the rich country of Brabant, ſo that the ſiege was long continued; and the Brabanters had many large machines which threw into the town ſtones of ſuch weight as to do much damage wherever they fell. In addition, they flung into the town all the dead carrion of the army to empoiſon the inhabitants by the ſtink. This was ſorely felt by them, for the weather was hot, and the air too calm to carry off theſe villanous ſmells.

At times, many of the knights and ſquires of Brabant came to ſkirmiſh with the garriſon at the barriers; for the duke of Gueldres had placed within the town ſome gallant companions, who were not ſhy of ſhewing their courage, when occaſions called for it, and the enemy advanced ſo near as the barriers. The ſiege laſted a long time; and the duke of Gueldres had fixed his quarters at Nimeguen; but he could neither raiſe the ſiege, nor offer combat to the Brabanters, for want of ſufficient force. He had ſent to England an account of his ſituation, and expected for certain he ſhould have a reinforcement from thence, but he was diſappointed; for England at the time was in a very unſettled ſtate, and new miniſters had been forced on the king by his uncles and the archbiſhop of Canterbury. A parliament was indeed holden, about St. John Baptiſt's day, at the duke's requeſt, to conſider whether a body of men at arms and archers ſhould be ſent to aſſiſt the duke of Gueldres, according to treaty. Having conſidered the matter fully, they would

would not agree to it; for it was ſtrongly rumoured, that the king of France was aſſembling a large army, and it was doubtful whither he would march it, and the English imagined it was intended to attack Calais. They were alſo uneaſy reſpecting the Scots on the borders, and were fearful of ſending more forces out of the kingdom, as a large body of men at arms and archers were at ſea, under the earl of Arundel, leſt the country might be defenceleſs. When the council was conſidering the affairs of Gueldres, ſome of the lords ſaid,—'Let the duke of Gueldres take care of himſelf: he is valorous enough, and in his own country, and will withſtand all the Brabanters can do againſt him: if any thing worſe befal him, he ſhall have aſſiſtance. He has again the Germans, his neighbours, on his ſide, who formerly joined him againſt France.'

Such was the ſtate of affairs in England; but thoſe in Grave ſuffered much from the ſiege. During the time it laſted, the Brabanters reſolved to throw a wooden bridge over the Meuſe, that they might have an entrance into Gueldreland, overrun that country, and, by inveſting the town of Grave on all ſides, prevent any proviſion from entering it; for they were numerous enough to ſurround it, could they gain a paſſage over the river. As they finished the different parts of this bridge, they joined and placed them in their proper ſituations, and had made ſuch advances, that it was within the length of a lance of the oppoſite shore.

You may ſuppoſe that the duke was no way ignorant of what they were about, but he gave not any interruption to their building the bridge, until it was nearly completed. He then advanced with cannons and other artillery, and attacked it ſo roughly, that it was ſet on fire and deſtroyed. Thus did the Brabanters, to their great vexation, loſe all the effect of their labour. They, upon this, called a council to determine how to act.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE BRABANTERS HAVING PASSED THROUGH RAVESTEIN,* ENTER GUELDRELAND, AND ARE DEFEATED BY THE DUKE OF GUELDRES.—THE SIEGE OF GRAVE IS RAISED IN CONSEQUENCE.

THREE short leagues from Grave lies the town of Ravenſtein, belonging to the lord de Bourne, who is a vaſſal to Brabant. At the council I mentioned, the lord de Bourne was ſolicited by the miniſters of the duchefs of Brabant, and by the knights and ſquires to open his town of Raveſtein for them to gain an entrance into Gueldreland,

* Ravenſtein,—a town of the Netherlands in Dutch Brabant, and capital of a county of the ſame name, with an ancient and ſtrong caſtle. It belongs to the elector Palatine; but the Dutch have a right to put a garriſon there. It is ſituated on the Meuſe, on the confines of Gueldreland, ten miles ſouth-weſt of Nimeguen.—BROOKES' GAZETTEER.

and,

and, with part of their army, overrun it: he complied with their requeſt.

The duke of Gueldres, I know not whether by ſpies or otherwiſe, gained information that the Brabanters intended entering his territories by the bridge of Raveſtein, through the compliance of the lord de Bourne. He was much caſt down when he firſt learnt this, as his force was not near ſufficient to meet that of Brabant, which conſiſted of more than forty thouſand men. He formed various plans how to act, and at last determined that, if the Brabanters entered his country, he would retaliate by the bridge of Grave, for he was reſolved not to be ſhut up in any town. He conſulted the lord de Gheſme, a great baron in Gueldreland, and his principal adviſer, who would not at firſt agree to his taking the field, on account of the ſmallneſs of his numbers. 'And what muſt I do then?' ſaid the duke. 'Would you have me ſhut myſelf up in one of my towns, while they are plundering and burning my country? This would be too great a loſs. I vow to GOD and our Lady,' added the duke, 'that I will take the field to meet my enemies, and follow the beſt meaſures I can deviſe that the event may be favourable.'

This plan he executed; and, on the morrow, after he had paid his devotions in the church, and made his offering at the altar of the virgin, he drank ſome wine, and, mounting his horſe, ſet out from Nimeguen. He was accompanied by only three hundred ſpears, or indeed leſs, and

they made ſtraight for the place where they ſuppoſed they ſhould find their enemies. You may from this judge of the duke's courage, although ſome blamed him.

When they were without the town of Nimeguen, like a valiant knight, he ſhouted out,—'Forward, forward! let us, in the name of God and St. George, haſten to meet our enemy; for I had rather periſh with honour in the field than die diſhonourably ſhut up in a town.' With him were the lord de Gheſine, who commanded the expedition, and a valiant and prudent knight, called the heir of Hanſeberth, the lord de Huckelem, ſir Oſtez, lord of Naſpre, and ſeveral other knights and ſquires of good courage.

The ſame day on which the duke of Gueldres had taken the field, the ſénéſchal of Brabant had done the ſame at a very early hour of the morning, with a large body of knights and ſquires from Brabant, who were eager to enter Gueldreland, and gain there both honour and profit. Upwards of ten thouſand men croſſed the bridge of Raveſtein; and the ſénéſchal, the lord de Ligniere, the lord de Bourgueval, the lord de Gence and the reſt, were much pleaſed at having croſſed the Meuſe, and ſaid among themſelves, they would that day ride as far as Nimeguen, and burn its mills, ſuburbs, and the villages that were round about; but they had ſhortly other news brought them by their ſcouts, whom they had ſent forward to examine the country.

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The duke of Gueldres was informed, that his enemies, to the amount of ten thouſand, were abroad, and had paſſed the Meuſe at the bridge at Raveſtein. The duke halted, on hearing this, to conſider again the beſt mode of proceeding, for ſome of his companions were alarmed at the ſmallneſs of their numbers in compariſon with the enemy, who were at leaſt thirty or forty for one. They ſaid,—'How is it poſſible for three or four hundred lances to oppoſe ten or twelve thouſand? it is not in our power to overthrow them, but they may very eaſily ſlay us.' Several aſſembled round the duke, and adviſed him to retreat to Grave; but he replied, 'he would never do ſo, nor confine himſelf in any town but march to meet his enemies, for his courage told him he ſhould defeat them; and he preferred dying with honour to living in diſgrace. We will overthrow, ſaid he, our enemies, and gain this day infinite honour and wealth.' He then, after a ſhort pauſe, added in a loud voice, 'Forward, forward! thoſe who love me will follow me.'

This ſpeech of the duke greatly encouraged his men, more eſpecially thoſe who had heard the whole; and they all ſhewed a great earneſtneſs to combat their enemies, who were faſt approaching. They tightened their armours, lowered the viſors of their helmets, and re-girthed their ſaddles, and marched ſlowly in handſome array, that their horſes might be freſh for the charge. Some new knights were made, and they marched in this order towards Raveſtein.

The Brabanters, with great numbers of common people, had already croſſed the river, when news was brought to the ſénéſchal and his knights that the duke of Gueldres had taken the field, and was ſo near that they muſt ſpeedily ſee him. They were much ſurpriſed at this intelligence, and concluded that the duke muſt at leaſt have had with him ſix times more men than he had.

They inſtantly halted, and would have drawn themſelves up in array, but had not time; for the duke of Gueldres appeared with his company full gallop, with ſpears in their reſts, and ſhouting their cry, 'Our Lady for Gueldres!' A ſquire of Gueldreland, called Hermaut de Morbec, deſerves particular attention, from the great deſire he had to exalt his name. He left the ranks of the battalion, and, ſpurring his horſe, was the firſt to aſſault the enemy, and at this gallant tilt unhorſed the man he ſtruck. I know not if he were raiſed from the ground, for the crowd was ſo great, that when any were diſmounted, unleſs inſtantly relieved, they ran great riſk of being cruſhed to death. More than ſix ſcore Brabanters were unhorſed at this firſt charge. Great confuſion and diſmay, with but a poor defence, reigned among them. They were ſo ſuddenly attacked, (which is the way enemies ſhould be by thoſe who wiſh to conquer them,) that although they were ſo numerous, and had many great lords, they were diſperſed: they could never form any array, nor could the lords rally their men, nor theſe laſt join their lords. Thoſe in the rear, hearing

hearing the noiſe, and ſeeing the clouds of duſt, thought their men muſt have been diſcomfited, and that the enemy were coming to them, ſo that they became panic-ſtruck, and, turning about, fled for Raveſtein or the Meuſe. Their fright was ſo great, they ruſhed into the river, whether on horſeback or on foot, without ſounding the bottom or knowing if it were fordable, for they imagined the enemy was at their heels. By this ſelf-defeat, upwards of twelve hundred periſhed in the river Meuſe; for they leaped one on the other, without any diſtinction, like wild beaſts.

Many great lords and barons of Brabant (whoſe names I ſhall not diſcloſe, to ſave them and their heirs from the diſgrace that would attach to them) moſt ſhamefully fled from the field, and ſought their ſafety, not by the river nor by Raveſtein, but by other roads that carried them to a diſtance from their enemies.

This unfortunate event to the chivalry of Brabant happened between Grave and Raveſtein. Great numbers were ſlain. All who could ſurrender did ſo inſtantly; and the Germans took them at ranſom very readily, for the great profit they expected to make from them. Thoſe who had fled to Grave gave the alarm to the beſieging army; for they arrived out of breath, and ſo harraſſed that they could ſcarcely ſay to them, 'Retire as faſt as you can, for we have been totally defeated, and nothing can ſave you.' When thoſe in camp ſaw their appearance and heard their report, they were ſo frightened that they would

would not ſtay to pack up any thing, nor even take down their tents and pavilions, but ſet off without bidding adieu, and left every thing behind them. They were ſeized with ſuch a panic as neither to take victual nor carriage; but ſuch as had horſes leaped on them, and fled for ſafety to Bois le Duc, Houdan, Mont St. Gervais, Gertruydenberg or Dordrecht. Their only care was to ſave themſelves, and fly from their enemies. Had the garriſon of Grave known of this defeat of the Brabanters, they would have greatly gained by it, and killed or brought back many of the runaways. They were not made acquainted with it until late, when they ſallied forth, and took poſſeſſion of tents, pavilions, and warlike engines the Brabanters in their fright had left behind, which they brought at their leiſure into Grave, for there were none to oppoſe them.

Thus was the ſiege of Grave broken up, to the great loſs of the Brabanters. News was ſpread far and near, how a handful of men had overthrown forty thouſand and raiſed the ſiege of Grave. The lord de Bourgueval and the lord de Linieres were made priſoners, with others to the amount of ſeventeen banners. Theſe and the pennons you will find hung up before the image of our Lady at Nimeguen, that the perpetual remembrance of this victory may be kept up.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE BRABANTERS, RETURNS TO NIMEGUEN.—ON THE NEWS OF THIS VICTORY, THE KING AND COUNCIL OF FRANCE SEND AMBASSADORS TO THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY, THE MORE SECURELY TO CARRY ON THEIR WAR AGAINST GUELDRELAND.

SCARCELY can I for ſhame perpetuate the disgraceful defeat of the Brabanters; but, as I have promiſed at the commencement of this hiſtory to inſert nothing but what was ſtrictly true, I muſt detail the unfortunate conſequences of this battle. The young duke of Gueldres gained this renowned victory about Magdalen-tide, in the month of July 1388.

When the defeat and purſuit were over, which took up about two hours time, and the field cleared, the Gueldrians collected together, and greatly rejoiced, as indeed they had cauſe, at the fortunate ſucceſs of the day, for they had made many more priſoners than they were in number themſelves. The heralds were ordered by them to examine the dead, and report who had been ſlain. Among them was the young and handſome ſon of the count de Namur (who was ſtiled the Vaiſſier de Celles, lord de Balaſtre,) which, when told to the duke, greatly afflicted him; and he bitterly

bitterly lamented his loſs, for he was of a moſt amiable character, and had been the preceding year his companion at arms in Pruſſia.

A council was held in the field, whether or not to retire to Grave and carry their priſoners thither; but the duke oppoſed it, ſaying—'I made a vow to our Lady of Nimeguen when I left that town, and which I again renewed before we began the combat: in obedience to which, I order, that we gaily return to Nimeguen, and offer our thankſgivings to the holy Virgin, who has aſſiſted us in our victory.'

This command was obeyed; for, as the duke had given it, no one made any objection; and they ſet out, on their return towards Nimeguen, full gallop. It was two long leagues from the field of battle, but they were ſoon there.

On this fortunate news being told in that town, great rejoicings were made by both ſexes; and the clergy went out in proceſſion to meet the duke, and received him with acclamations. The duke did not turn to the right nor left, but rode with his knights ſtraight to the church where the image of our Lady was, and in which he had great faith. When he had entered her chapel, he diſarmed himſelf of every thing to his doublet, and offered up his armour on the altar, in honour of our Lady, returning thankſgivings for the victory he had gained over his enemies.

The banners and pennons of the enemy were all hung up in this chapel, but I know not if they be ſtill there: the duke retired to his hôtel, and

and his knights to their homes, to pay attention to themſelves and their priſoners, from whom they expected great ranſoms. When the report of this victory over the Brabanters was made public, the duke of Gueldres was more feared and honoured than before.

The ducheſs of Brabant, who had reſided at Bois le Duc, was much vexed, as indeed ſhe had reaſon, at this unfortunate turn in her affairs, and that the ſiege of Grave was raiſed. She ordered a ſtrong garriſon into Bois le Duc to guard the frontiers, and then returned through Champagne to Bruſſels. She wrote frequently to the duke of Burgundy the ſtate of things, and eagerly preſſed him to aſſiſt her in the recovery of her loſſes; for all her hopes were in him.

You may ſuppoſe, the news of this victory was inſtantly known in France, particularly at the court of the king; but they were little ſurpriſed at it, rather holding it cheap, imagining, when the king marched thither, they ſhould make themſelves ample amends.

Orders were ſent to ſir William de la Trimouille and to ſir Gervais de Merande, who had been placed by the duke of Burgundy in the three caſtles on the Meuſe, to guard well that frontier, and to make no ſallies where there ſhould be any riſk of loſs; for that they would ſhortly hear from the king, who was preparing to viſit this duke of Gueldres and his country in perſon.

Sir William had been greatly hurt at the late defeat of his friends, but the intelligence from France

France raiſed his ſpirits, and he acted conformably to the orders he had received.

Let us return to what was paſſing in France. The king's ardour for the invaſion of Gueldreland was no way abated: he was anxious to undertake it at all events, for the challenge of the duke had mightily enraged him; and he declared that, coſt what it would, he would have ample reparation, or his territories, with thoſe of his father, the duke of Juliers, ſhould be deſpoiled and burnt. Summonſes were ſent to all the dukes, counts, knights, barons and men at arms, of France, to provide themſelves with ſufficient purveyances for a long journey; and one of the marſhals of France, ſir Louis de Sancerre, was ordered to remain to guard the kingdom, from beyond the river Dordogne to the ſea; for in Languedoc, and in the country between the Garonne and the Loire, the truce had been accepted; and the other marſhal, the lord de Blainville, was to accompany the king.

The different lords made ſuch immenſe proviſion of ſtores of all kinds, it was wonderful to think of, more eſpecially in wines. All thoſe in Champagne were beſpoken for the king, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Touraine, and Bourbon: carriages alſo, of every deſcription, in thoſe parts, were likewiſe retained for them: indeed, the preparations for this expedition were prodigious.

The duke of Brittany was ſtill at Paris, and could not obtain any deciſion reſpecting his affairs, for the king reſided chiefly at Montereau ſur Yonne.

Yonne. He was, however, well entertained with feaſts and fair words. The nobles begged of him to have patience, for he would very ſhortly have his buſineſs finiſhed; but that the king was ſo impatient to begin his march to Germany, he attended to nothing elſe. The duke was forced to make the beſt he could of it, perceiving he could not amend it, and, ſince he had come to Paris, was reſolved not to depart but with the good will of the king, although his ſtay was attended with vaſt expenſes.

When it was known for certain that the expedition to Gueldreland was to take place, and that a tax had been ordered throughout France for the payment of the knights and men at arms, many of the wiſeſt in the country, whether of the council or not, ſaid that it was ill adviſed to encourage a king of France to march ſuch a diſtance in ſearch of his enemies, and that the kingdom might ſuffer from it, (for the king was young, and very popular with his ſubjects,) and that it would have been fully ſufficient for one of the king's uncles, or both of them, with the conſtable of France, to have gone with ſix or ſeven thouſand lances, without carrying the perſon of the king thither.

The king's uncles were of a ſimilar opinion: they moſt prudently remonſtrated with him on the impropriety of his marching with his army, and were urging many ſtrong reaſons againſt it, when he flew into a rage, and ſhortly interrupted them, by ſaying.—'If you go thither without me, it will be contrary to my will and pleaſure; but

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I can aſſure you, you ſhall not receive one penny, for otherwiſe I cannot reſtrain you.'

When the dukes of Berry and Burgundy heard this anſwer, they ſaw he was determined upon going, and replied,—'God be with you: you ſhall go then; and we will no more think of undertaking it without your company.'

Theſe lords and the council then deliberated on an affair of ſome conſequence to this intended war. There had been a treaty for a long time in force, between the king of France and the emperor of Germany, which ſtipulated, that neither of them were to enter the territories of the other with an armed force; that is to ſay, that the king of France and the emperor could not make war on each other without incurring a heavy penalty, and the ſentence of the pope, who had ſolemnly ſworn, at his coronation, to maintain theſe two kingdoms in peace. It was therefore reſolved, in caſe the king perſiſted in his intention of invading Gueldreland, which was a dependence on the empire, to make the emperor fully acquainted with the duke of Gueldres' rath conduct, and lay before him the inſolent challenge he had ſent the king of France, who, to make him ſenſible of his folly, was preparing to march an army into Germany, not any way hoſtile to the emperor or to his territories, but ſolely againſt this duke of Gueldres, and to attack him wherever he ſhould find him.

Sir Guy de Honcourt, a valiant knight, and ſir Yves d'Orient, one of the judges in parliament, were appointed ambaſſadors to carry this meſſage

to

to the emperor. When they had received their inſtructions and made their preparations, they took leave of the king and his uncles, and rode for Châlons in Champagne, with an attendance ſuitable to their rank, and the purpoſe they were going on. They met the lord de Coucy at Châlons, retaining knights and men at arms from Bar, Lorraine and Champagne for this expedition, of which he was to command the van-guard. He entertained the ambaſſadors one day ſplendidly at dinner, and on the morrow they continued the road to Sainte Menehould, and thence towards Luxembourg, to gain intelligence where the emperor was.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE AND HIS COUNCIL PERMIT THE DUKE OF BRITTANY TO RETURN HOME.—THE STATES OF BRABANT SEND EXCUSES TO THE KING OF FRANCE, FOR NOT ALLOWING HIS ARMY TO PASS THROUGH THEIR COUNTRY.—THE SUCCESS OF THE AMBASSADORS WITH THE EMPEROR.

ALTHOUGH ambaſſadors had been ſent to the emperor, the French did no way relax in their warlike preparations. It was ſignified to all to aſſemble in readineſs for the field in or near the country of Champagne by the middle of the enſuing Auguſt; ſince the king had then determined

mined to begin his march, whether or not he ſhould receive anſwers, through ſir Guy de Honcourt and maſter Yves d'Orient, from the emperor of Germany.

The king and his uncles thinking it was now time to diſmiſs the duke of Brittany, he was ſummoned to Montereau, where the king moſt kindly received him, as did the dukes of Burgundy and Touraine. The duke of Berry was at the time in Berry making his preparations and levies of men at arms, having fixed on Poitou for the place of aſſembly, before they began their march. The king and the duke of Burgundy, as I have ſaid, treated the duke of Brittany in the moſt friendly manner. He had before ſurrendered the caſtles and town of Jugon to the officers of the conſtable, but made great difficulty to pay back the hundred thouſand francs, which had been expended in the proviſioning his caſtles, and in retaining men at arms the whole of laſt winter, thinking a war would be declared againſt him; but he was ſo fairly ſpoken to, that he promiſed the king and the duke of Burgundy to repay this ſum, of one hundred thouſand francs, in the courſe of five years, by yearly payments of twenty thouſand francs. The duke, after this, took leave of the king, who made him very handſome preſents of jewels, and went back to Paris. The duke of Burgundy, before his departure, gave to him and his knights a magnificent entertainment in his hôtel, called the hôtel d'Artois, when they ſeparated on the moſt friendly terms.

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The duke of Brittany made no long ſtay after this at Paris; but having arranged his affairs, and had his expenſes paid by his officers, he ſet out, taking the road to Eſtampes, travelled through Beauce to Beaugency on the Loire, with a numerous body of attendants riding before him. From Beaugency his attendants continued their road through the country of Blois, Touraine, Maine and Anjou; but the duke had his veſſels waiting for him at Beaugency, and embarking on board a handſome yacht, with the lords de Montfort and de Maleſtroit, ſailed down the Loire, paſſing under the bridge at Blois, and not ſtopping until he came to Nantes, when he was in his own country.

I will now leave the duke of Brittany, who ſtrictly kept the engagements he had entered into with the king of France and his uncles, and has never ſince done any thing worthy of being remembered in this hiſtory, nor do I know if he ever will. If he ſhould, I will relate it, according to the manner it ſhall be told me.

The king of France was buſily employed in making his preparations to invade Gueldreland. The lord de Coucy, on his return to Montereau, informed the king and his uncles, that all the chivalry of Bar, Lorraine, Burgundy, and as far as the Rhine, were ready and willing to attend them, in their expedition to Germany. The king was much pleaſed on hearing this, and ſaid, that 'if it pleaſed God, he would this year pay a viſit to his couſins of Gueldres and Juliers.' A council was held

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march (for there were upwards of twelve thouſand carriages, without counting baggage horſes), to lay open the foreſt, and make roads where no traveller had ever before paſſed. Every one was eager to be thus employed, more particularly thoſe who were near the king's perſon; for he was never ſo popular at any time as he was now in Flanders, nor were his ſubjects ever ſo united to aſſiſt him as in this expedition againſt Gueldres.

While this was paſſing, the king ſent the lord de Coucy to Avignon, to the perſon who ſtyled himſelf pope Clement, I know not on what buſineſs; and the viſcount de Meaux, ſir John de Roye and the lord de la Bonne, commanded in his abſence.

We will now ſay ſomething of the ambaſſadors who had been ſent to the emperor of Germany. They continued their journey until they arrived at Convalence*, where the emperor reſided. After diſmounting at their hôtel, they made themſelves ready to wait on him, who had before heard of their coming, and was very impatient to know the cauſe of it. Having aſſembled his council, the ambaſſadors were introduced to the preſence of the emperor, whom they ſaluted moſt reverently, and gave him their credential letters from the king of France. After he had attentively peruſed them, he eyed ſir Guy de Honcourt, and ſaid, 'Guy, tell us, in the name of God, what you are charged with.' The knight ſpoke long and ably in explaining to the

* Convalence. Q. Conſtance.

emperor

emperor and his council, the reaſons why the king of France was about to enter the German territory with a large army, not with the ſmalleſt intent to injure that or any other part of the territories belonging to the emperor, but againſt a perſonal enemy. He then named him, and added,—'The duke of Gueldres has thought proper to ſend the king of France a moſt inſolent challenge, couched in outrageous language, not uſual in ſuch caſes, for which the king and his council have determined to puniſh him. The king, therefore, entreats you, dear ſire, from your connections with him by blood, that you will not abet this duke in his preſumptuous conduct, but keep thoſe treaties of alliance which have formerly been made between you and France, as he on his part is reſolved to abide by them.'

The emperor, in reply, ſaid,—'Sir Guy, we have ſome time been informed, that our couſin, the king of France, has been collecting a large body of men at arms, at a vaſt expenſe, when it was unneceſſary for him to give himſelf ſo much trouble for ſo ſmall an object; for, had he made his complaints to me, I would have forced the duke of Gueldres to hear reaſon without the great expenſe he has been at.' 'Sire,' anſwered ſir Guy, 'you are very kind in thus expreſſing yourſelf; but our lord, the king of France, values neither expenſe nor trouble wherever his honour is concerned; and his council are ſolely anxious that you ſhould not be diſſatisfied with him, for he is determined in no way to infringe the treaties that exiſt between France and Germany:

on the contrary, to ſtrengthen them as much as poſſible, and for this have ſir Yves d'Orient and myſelf been ſent hither.' 'We are by no means,' ſaid the emperor, 'diſſatisfied with what is doing in France, and thank my couſin for the information he ſends me: let him come, in God's name, for I do not intend to move.'

The ambaſſadors were well pleaſed with this reply, and conſidered the matter as concluded to their wiſh. They requeſted anſwers to the letters they had brought, which were cheerfully promiſed. They dined that day in the emperor's palace, and by his orders were well feaſted. In the evening they retired to their lodgings, and managed things ſo well, that the buſineſs was finiſhed to their ſatisfaction. Having received their letters in reply to thoſe they had brought, they took leave of the emperor, and returned by the way they had come to the king of France; of whom we will now ſpeak.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE COUNT DE BLOIS SENDS TWO HUNDRED LANCES TO SERVE THE KING IN HIS EXPEDITION TO GUELDRES.—THE AMBASSADORS BRING FAVOURABLE ANSWERS FROM THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—THE KING OF FRANCE CONTINUES HIS MARCH TOWARD THE FOREST OF ARDENNES.—SIR HELION DE LIGNAC MAKES HIS REPORT TO THE DUKE OF BERRY, TOUCHING HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

THE great lords and barons of France were buſily employed in making their preparations for the expedition to Gueldres; and thoſe from the more diſtant parts of the kingdom, in Auvergne, Limouſin, Quercy, Rouergue, and other provinces, had already begun their march towards Champagne. The greater numbers came from Picardy, Burgundy, Champagne, Bar, and Lorraine, becauſe they were nearer the place of aſſembly. The villages in France were not ſo harſhly treated as uſual; for the king had forbidden, under pain of death, that any thing ſhould be taken from them without payment.

Notwithſtanding this order was made very public, the men at arms on their march did much miſchief; for, though the puniſhment was ſo heavy, they could not abſtain from what they had

had been accuſtomed to. They were indeed very badly paid, and conſequently thought they had a right to provide for themſelves. This was the excuſe they made whenever they were reprimanded by their captain or marſhal.

The count de Blois was ſummoned, and he returned for anſwer, he would ſend two hundred choſen lances, well equipped and paid. I know not how he was dealt withal, but he ſent two hundred knights and ſquires to ſerve the king, from his county of Blois, under the command of the lord de Vienne, ſir William de Saint Martin, ſir William de Chaumont, and the lord de Montigny, who marched at their leiſure towards Champagne, whither they had been ordered.

The king of France left Montereau ſur Yonne, and took the road for Châlons in Champagne, without the duke of Berry joining him. He was ſtill in Berry, waiting the return of ſir Helion de Lignac, with anſwers from the duke of Lancaſter, reſpecting his marriage with his daughter. He, however, received none; for the duke of Lancaſter detained him at Bayonne, diſſembling his opinion between him and the ambaſſadors from Caſtille; but he was more inclined, as well as the ducheſs, to cloſe with the laſt; yet, before them, he ſhewed the utmoſt attentions to ſir Helion, to make them the more eager to finiſh the buſineſs.

The Caſtillian ambaſſadors laboured hard to bring the marriage to a concluſion. They were four in number, don Fernando, de Léon, doctor in divinity and confeſſor to the king, the biſhop

biſhop of Segovia, don Pedro Godelopie, and don Diego Loup, who were continually going or returning from one party to the other. The duke, however, gave them to underſtand, that he would prefer an union with Caſtille to one with France, provided they would agree to his terms. He demanded payment of ſix hundred thouſand francs within three years, twelve thouſand francs annually for his and the ducheſs's lives, and two thouſand more for the ducheſs's houſehold yearly*.

When it was known that the king had left Montereau for Châlons, all thoſe who had remained at home haſtened their march to join him. Thither came the duke of Berry, whoſe quarters were at Eſpinay, and the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Sancerre, the count de St. Pol, the count de Tonnerre. Near the king's perſon were the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Lorraine, the duke of Touraine, the conſtable of

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* Collins, in his life of John of Gaunt, mentions the following terms as agreed on by the duke of Lancaſter and king of Caſtille.

1mo, That Henry of Caſtille, on his marrige with the lady Conſtance, ſhould bear the title of prince of Aſturias.

2do, That the kingdom of Caſtille, &c. revert to them after the death of the preſent king, and to their heirs. In default of heirs, to Edmund of York, who had married don Pedro's ſecond daughter.

3tio, That the king of Caſtille ſhould pay the duke of Lancaſter 200,000l. towards the charges of his expedition, and 10,000l. per annum during his and the ducheſs's lives.

France,

France, ſir John de Vienne, ſir Guy de la Trimouille, ſir Barrois des Barres and ſir John de Bueil.

The whole country round Rheims and Châlons, to the extent of twelve leagues, was deſtroyed by theſe men at arms, who were diſperſed over it, from Sainte Menehould to Monſtier in Bar, to Chaumont in Baſſigni*, to Vitry en Pertois†, and the whole of the biſhopricks of Troyes and Langres. The lord de Coucy was not yet returned from his journey to Avignon.

About this time ſir Guy de Honcourt and ſir Yves d'Orient came back from their embaſſy to the emperor, and met the king at Châlons. The king and his nobles were rejoiced at their arrival, and inquired the news. They told them all that had paſſed; that the emperor had very kindly received them, and handſomely entertained them; and ſir Guy added,—'Sire, and you my lords, when the emperor and his council had read your letters and the copy of the duke of Gueldres' challenge, they were very indignant at his preſumption, and are deſirous, from what we could learn, that he ſhould be puniſhed for his inſolence: nor will the emperor make any oppoſition to your intended war, which he ſeems indeed much to approve of, but keep ſtrictly to all the articles of the treaties entered into between him and France, ſo that all your doubts concerning his conduct may be diſſipated.'

* Baſſigni, a ſmall country on the confines of Champagne and Lorraine: Chaumont is the capital.

† Vitry en Pertois, a ſmall town in Champagne, near Vitry le François.

The

The king of France and his council were well ſatisfied on hearing this, although many ſaid, that whether the emperor would or not, they were in ſufficient numbers to go whither they pleaſed without fearing any one.

The king gave orders for the march of the army, and he left Châlons for Grand Pré*, where he remained for three days. He could not make any long marches from the great concourſe of men that were in his front, in his rear, and on all ſides; and he was forced to move gently on account of his great train of baggage and purveyances, which occupied a length of fourteen country leagues, and was daily increaſing.

The count de Grand Pré received the king in his town with every reſpect, and ordered all things ſo much to the king's pleaſure, that he expreſſed his ſatisfaction to the count, who was attached to the van diviſion. The duke of Lorraine and ſir Henry de Bar here joined the king with a handſome company of men at arms. The duke of Lorraine was ordered to the diviſion of his ſon-in-law, the lord de Coucy, but ſir Henry de Bar remained near the king.

The pioneers had been continually employed in clearing the foreſt of Ardennes, by felling of timber, and making roads where none had ever been before. They had much difficulty in the filling up of valleys and forming a tolerable road for the carriages to paſs, and there were upwards

* Grand Pré, a town in Champagne, election of Sainte Menehould.

of

of three thouſand workmen who laboured at nothing elſe, from Vierton to Neufchâtel in the Ardennes.

The ducheſs of Brabant was exceedingly pleaſed when ſhe heard for certain that the king of France was on his march through the Ardennes, and concluded ſhe ſhould now have her revenge on the duke of Gueldres, and that the king of France would make both him and his father, the duke of Juliers, repent of their conduct, which had given her many mortifications. She ſet out in handſome array from Bruſſels, accompanied by the lord de Samines, in the Ardennes, the lord de Bocelars, the lord de Broquehort, and ſeveral others, for Luxembourg, to receive the king, and have ſome converſation with him. She croſſed the Meuſe by the bridge at Huy*, and went to Baſtoigne, where ſhe halted; for the king was to paſs there, or very near it, which he did. When he ſet out from Grand Pré, he croſſed the Meuſe at Morſay†, with his whole army; but his marches were very ſhort, for the reaſons I have before given.

News was brought to the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, for ſuch intelligence is ſoon ſpread abroad, that the king of France was on his march to viſit them, with an army of one hun-

* Huy, a town in the biſhoprick of Liege, capital of the Condrotz, on the confluence of the ſmall river Huy and the Meuſe.

† Morſay. Q. Mouzon.

dred

dred thouſand men; and that he had never collected ſo large a body, except when he marched to Bourbourg, imagining the Engliſh to be in greater force than he found them.

The duke of Juliers began to be greatly alarmed; but his ſon, the duke of Gueldres, made light of it, ſaying,—'Let them come: the greater the number, the ſooner will they be worn down, their baggage deſtroyed, and their purveyances ruined. Winter is coming on, and my country is a ſtrong one: they will not eaſily enter it, and, when they make the attempt, ſhall be driven back with other ſounds than trumpets. They muſt always keep together, which will be impoſſible, if they mean to invade my territory; and, if they ſeparate, my people will take them whether they will or no.—However, our couſin of France ſhews good courage; and I give him credit for doing what I would attempt if in his place.' Such were the converſations the duke of Gueldres held with his knights on this ſubject; but the duke of Juliers was, on the contrary, quite diſconſolate; for he ſaw, if the French were determined on it, his country muſt be ruined and burnt. He ſent for his brother, the archbiſhop of Cologne, and his couſin, ſir Arnold de Hornes, biſhop of Liege, to conſult with them on the occaſion, and ſee if there were any probable remedy to prevent his lands being deſpoiled.

Theſe two prelates gave him the beſt advice in their power, and recommended him to humble himſelf before the king of France and his uncles, and ſubmit to their will. The duke having

having anſwered, that he would moſt cheerfully do ſo, the biſhop of Utrecht, who was likewiſe preſent, with the aſſent of the archbiſhop, adviſed the biſhop of Liege to ſet out with his array to meet the king of France, and treat with him on this ſubject.

The king of France continued his march, but only two, three, or four leagues a day, and ſometimes not one, from the great baggage, which was too large by far, that accompanied him. Sir William de Lignac, and his brother ſir Helion, joined the king between Mouzon and Nôtre Dame d'Amot*, where the duke of Berry, with his body of five hundred ſpears, was quartered. Sir William had come from the ſiege of Ventadour, by orders of the duke of Berry, as had ſir John Bonne-lance by ſimilar ones from the duke of Bourbon. They had left their army under the command of ſir John Bouteiller and ſir Lewis d'Ambiere, as they were deſirous of attending the king in this expedition. Sir Helion had come from Bayonne, where he had been treating, as you have heard, with the duke of Lancaſter, for the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Berry.

The duke of Berry made him good cheer, and inquired after his ſucceſs. Sir Helion related every thing that had paſſed, and told him the king of Caſtille was earneſtly negociating a peace with the duke of Lancaſter by the union of his

* Amot. Q. Arlon.

ſon,

ſon, the prince of Galicia, with his daughter. The duke was very penſive on hearing this, and, after a pauſe, ſaid,—'Sir Helion you will return to France; and I will ſend you once more, accompanied by the biſhop of Poitiers, for the duke of Lancaſter's deciſive anſwer; but at this moment we have enough on our hands.

This ſame week, the lord de Coucy returned from Avignon to the king in the Ardennes, to the great joy of the whole army.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE PRINCIPAL BARONS OF SCOTLAND ASSEMBLE IN ARMS TO MAKE WAR ON ENGLAND.—THEY LEARN FROM A SPY WHOM THEY TAKE PRISONER THAT THE ENGLISH ARE ACQUAINTED WITH THEIR INTENTIONS.

I HAVE before related in this hiſtory the troubles king Richard of England had ſuffered from his quarrels with his uncles, urged on by the wicked counſel of the duke of Ireland, which had cauſed ſeveral knights to loſe their heads, and the archbiſhop of York nearly to be deprived of his benefice. By the advice of the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the king's new council, the lord

lord Neville who had commanded the defence of the frontiers of Northumberland for five years againſt the Scots, was diſmiſſed: for this ſervice he had been paid by the counties of Northumberland and Durham, the ſum of ſixteen thouſand francs annually.

Sir Henry Percy being appointed in his ſtead to this command, with a ſalary of eleven thouſand francs yearly, was a circumſtance which created much animoſity and hatred between the Percies and Nevilles, who were neighbours and had been friends. The barons and knights of Scotland, knowing of this, determined on an inroad to England, as the opportunity was favourable, now the Engliſh were quarrelling among themſelves, to make ſome return for the many inſults they had ſuffered from them.

In order that their intentions might not be known, they appointed a feaſt to be holden at Aberdeen, on the borders of the Highlands. The greater part of the barons attended; and it was then reſolved, that on the middle of Auguſt of the year 1388, they would aſſemble all their forces at a caſtle called Jedworth, ſituated amidſt deep foreſts and on the borders of Cumberland. Having arranged every thing concerning this buſineſs, they ſeparated, but never mentioned one word of their intentions to the king; for they ſaid among themſelves, he knew nothing about war.

On the appointed day, earl James Douglas, firſt arrived at Jedworth: then came John earl of

of Moray, the earl of March and Dunbar, ſir William de Fif, Stephen earl of Menteith*, William earl of Mar, ſir Archibald Douglas, ſir Robert Avercequi, ſir Marc Ordrennen, ſir William and ſir James Lindſay, ſir Thomas Bery, ſir Alexander Lindſay, the lord de Sechin, ſir John de Sobelans, ſir Patrick Dunbar, ſir John Sinclair, ſir Patrick Sohopbone, ſir John Montgomery, ſon to the lord of that name, and his two other ſons; ſir John Maliſnel, ſir Adam de Gladivin, ſir William de Redurin, ſir William Stanac, ſir John de Halpebreton, ſir Alidier and ſir Robert Landre, ſir Stephen Frazer, ſir Alexander and ſir John Ramſay, ſir William de Morbereth, ſir Maubert Here, ſir William de Waleram, ſir John Amouſtan, David Filium, Robert Colennie, with numbers of other knights and ſquires of Scotland†.

There had not been ſeen, for ſixty years, ſo numerous an aſſembly: they amounted to twelve hundred ſpears, and forty thouſand other

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* Earl of Menteith.—'At the time of this battle (of Otterbourne), the earldom of Menteith was poſſeſſed by Robert Stewart, earl of Fife, third ſon of king Robert II. who, according to Buchanan, commanded the Scots that entered by Carliſle. But our minſtrel had probably an eye to the family of Graham, who had this earldom when the battle was written.'

Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.

† For an explanation of theſe names, ſee page 271.

men

men and archers. With the uſe of the bow the Scots are little acquainted; but they fling their axes over their ſhoulders, and, when engaged in battle, give deadly blows with them.

Theſe lords were well pleaſed on meeting each other, and declared they would never return to their homes without having made an inroad on England, and to ſuch an effect that it ſhould be remembered for twenty years to come. The more completely to combine their plans, they fixed another meeting to be held at a church in the foreſt of Jedworth, called Zedon*, before they began their march to England.

Intelligence was carried to the earl of Northumberland (for every thing is known to thoſe who are diligent in their inquiries), to his children, to the ſénéſchal of York, and to ſir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, of the great feaſt that was to be kept at Aberdeen. To learn what was done at it, theſe lords ſent thither heralds and minſtrels. The Scots barons could not tranſact their buſineſs ſo ſecretly but it was known to theſe minſtrels, that there was to be a grand aſſembly of men at arms in the foreſt of Jedworth. They obſerved alſo,

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* 'Zedon. The monaſtery of Zedon, at which the ſcottiſh leaders are ſaid to have held their meeting previous to entering England, is, I ſhould ſuppoſe, the modern Kirk-Yetholm, exactly upon the borders, and near the foot of Cheviot: the name is pronounced Yetto'm, which comes very near Yedon.'—W. S.

much

much agitation through the country, and, on their return to Newcaſtle, gave a faithful report of all they had ſeen or heard to their lords.

The barons and knights of Northumberland in conſequence made their preparations, but very ſecretly, that the Scots might not know of it, and put off their intended inroad, and had retired to their caſtles ready to ſally forth on the firſt notice of the arrival of the enemy. They ſaid,—'If the Scots enter the country through Cumberland by Carliſle, we will ride into Scotland, and do them more damage than they can do to us; for theirs is an open country, which may be entered any where, but ours is the contrary, with ſtrong and well fortified towns and caſtles.'

To be more ſure of their intenſions, they reſolved to ſend an Engliſh gentleman, well acquainted with the country, to this meeting in the foreſt of Jedworth. The Engliſh ſquire journeyed without interruption until he came to the church of Yetholm, where the Scots barons were aſſembled, and entered it, as a ſervant following his maſter, and heard the greater part of their plans. When the meeting was near breaking up, he left the church on his return, and went to a tree, thinking to find his horſe which he had tied there by the bridle, but he was gone; for a Scotſman (they are all thieves) had ſtolen him. He was fearful of making a noiſe about it, and ſet off on foot, though booted and ſpurred. He had not gone two bow-ſhots from the church before he was noticed by two Scots knights who were in converſation. The firſt

who ſaw him ſaid,—'I have witneſſed many wonderful things, but what I now ſee is equal to any: that man yonder has, I believe, loſt his horſe, and yet makes no inquiries after it. On my troth, I doubt much if he belongs to us: let us go after him, and ſee whether I am right or not.'

The two knights ſoon overtook him. On their approach he was alarmed, and wiſhed himſelf any where elſe. They asked him whether he was going, whence he had come, and what he had done with his horſe. As he contradicted himſelf in his anſwers, they laid hands on him, and ſaid he muſt come before their captains, and was brought back to the church of Yetholm, to the earl of Douglas and the other lords. They examined him cloſely, for they knew him for an Engliſhman, as to the reaſons he had come thither, and aſſured him, if he did not truly anſwer all their queſtions, his head ſhould be ſtruck off; but, if he told the truth, no harm ſhould happen to him.

Very unwillingly he obeyed, for the love of life prevailed; and the Scots barons learnt that he had been ſent by the earl of Northumberland to diſcover the number of their forces, and whither they were to march. This intelligence gave them the greateſt pleaſure, and they would not on any account but have taken this ſpy.

He was asked where the barons of Northumberland were? if they had any intentions of making an excurſion? and what road to Scotland they would take; along the ſea-ſhore from Berwick

Berwick to Dunbar, or by the mountains through the country of Menteith to Stirling? He replied,—'Since you will force me to tell the truth, when I left Newcaſtle, there were not any ſigns of an excurſion being made; but the barons are all ready to ſet out at a moment's warning, as ſoon as they ſhall hear you have entered England. They will not oppoſe you, for they are not in ſufficient numbers to meet ſo large a body as you are reported to them to conſiſt of.'—'And what do they eſtimate our numbers at in Northumberland?' ſaid lord Moray. 'They ſay, my lord,' replied the ſquire, 'that you have full forty thouſand men, and twelve hundred ſpears; and by way of counteracting your career, ſhould you march to Cumberland, they will take the road through Berwick to Dunbar, Dalkeith and Edinburgh: if you follow the other road, they will then march to Carliſle, and enter your country by theſe mountains.'

The Scottiſh lords, on hearing this, were ſilent, but looked at each other. The Engliſh squire was delivered to the governor of the caſtle of Jedworth, with orders to have particular guard over him; when they conferred together in the church of Yetholm, and formed other plans.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE SCOTS FORM THEIR ARMY INTO TWO DIVISIONS; ONE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, MARCHES TO CARLISLE, AND THE OTHER TO NEWCASTLE ON TYNE, COMMANDED BY THE EARL OF DOUGLAS,—AT THE BARRIERS OF WHICH PLACE, HE CONQUERS THE PENNON OF SIR HENRY PERCY.

THE barons of Scotland were in high ſpirits at this intelligence, and conſidered their ſucceſs as certain, now they knew the diſpoſition of the enemy. They held a council, as to their mode of proceeding, and the wiſeſt and moſt accuſtomed to arms, ſuch as ſir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, ſir Alexander Ramſay, ſir John Sinclair and ſir James Lindſay, were the ſpeakers: they ſaid,—'That to avoid any chance of failing in their attempt, they would adviſe the army to be divided, and two expeditions to be made, ſo that the enemy might be puzzled whither to march their forces. The largeſt diviſion with the baggage, ſhould go to Carliſle, in Cumberland; and the other, conſiſting of three or four hundred ſpears, and two thouſand ſtout infantry and archers, all well mounted, ſhould make for Newcaſtle on Tyne, croſs the river, and enter Durham, ſpoiling and burning the country. They will have committed great waſte in England before our enemies can have any information of their being there: if we find they come in purſuit of us, which they

they certainly will, we will then unite together, and fix on a proper place to offer them battle, as we all ſeem to have that deſire, and to gain honour; for it is time to repay them ſome of the miſchiefs they have done to us.'

This plan was adopted, and ſir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Menteith, the earl of Mar, the earl of Stratherne, ſir Stephen Frazer, ſir George Dunbar, with ſixteen other great barons of Scotland, were ordered to the command of the largeſt diviſion that was to march to Carliſle. The earl of Douglas, the earl of March and Dunbar, and the earl of Moray were appointed leaders of the three hundred picked lances and two thouſand infantry, who were to advance to Newcaſtle on Tyne and invade Northumberland.

When theſe two diviſions ſeparated, the lords took a very affectionate leave of each other, promiſing that if the Engliſh took the field againſt them, they would not fight until they were all united, which would give them ſuch a ſuperiority of force as muſt enſure victory. They then left the foreſt of Jedworth, one party marching to the right and the other to the left.

The barons of Northumberland not finding their ſquire return, nor hearing any thing of the Scots, began to ſuſpect the accident which had happened. They therefore ordered every one to be prepared to march at a moment's notice, or when they ſhould hear of the Scots having entered the country, for they conſidered their ſquire as loſt.

Let us return to the expedition under the earl

of

of Douglas and his companions, for they had more to do than the diviſion that went to Carliſle, and were eager to perform ſome deeds of arms. When the earls of Douglas, Moray and March were ſeparated from the main body, they determined to croſs the Tyne and enter the biſhoprick of Durham, and, after they had deſpoiled and burnt that country as far as the city of Durham, to return by Newcaſtle, and quarter themſelves there in ſpite of the Engliſh.

This they executed, and riding at a good pace, through bye roads, without attacking town, caſtle or houſe, arrived on the lands of the lord Percy, and croſſed the river Tyne, without any oppoſition, at the place they had fixed on, about three leagues above Newcaſtle, near to Brancepeth*, where they entered the rich country of Durham, and inſtantly began their war, by burning towns and ſlaying the inhabitants.

Neither the earl of Northumberland nor the barons and knights of the country had heard any thing of their invaſion: but when intelligence came to Durham and Newcaſtle that the Scots were abroad, which was indeed viſible enough from the ſmoke that was every where ſeen, the earl of Northumberland ſent his two ſons to Newcaſtle; but he himſelf remained at Alnwick, and iſſued his orders for every one to repair thither alſo. Before his ſons left him, he ſaid,—'You will haſten to Newcaſtle, where the whole country will join you: I will remain

* Brancepeth,—four miles from Durham. A ruin of a fine old caſtle remains, which I believe has been lately fitted and repaired for a reſidence.

here,

here, for it is the road they may return by: if we can ſurround them, we ſhall do well; but I know not for certain where they now are.'

Sir Henry and ſir Ralph Percy obeyed their father's orders, and made for Newcaſtle, accompanied by the gentlemen and others fit to bear arms. In the mean time, the Scots continued deſtroying and burning all before them, ſo that the ſmoke was viſible at Newcaſtle. They came to the gates of Durham, where they skirmiſhed, but made no long ſtay, and ſet out on their return, as they had planned at the beginning of the expedition, driving and carrying away all the booty they thought worth their pains.

The country is very rich between Durham and Newcaſtle, which is but twelve Engliſh miles diſtant: there was not a town in all this diſtrict, unleſs well incloſed, that was not burnt. The Scots re-croſſed the Tyne at the ſame place, and came before Newcaſtle, where they halted.

All the knights and ſquires of Yorkſhire were collected at Newcaſtle, and thither came the ſénéſchals of York, ſir Ralph Mowbray, ſir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, ſir Robert Angle, ſir Thomas Grey, ſir Thomas Holcon, ſir John Felton, ſir John Lierbon, ſir William Warrichon, ſir Thomas Boynton, the baron of Helcon, ſir John Colpedic, and ſo many others, the town was filled with more than it could lodge.

The three Scots lords, having completed the object of their expedition into Durham, lay before Newcaſtle three days, where there was an almoſt continual skirmiſh. The ſons of the earl

of

of Northumberland, from their great courage, were always the firſt at the barriers, when many valiant deeds were done with lances hand to hand. The earl of Douglas had a long conflict with ſir Henry Percy, and in it, by gallantry of arms, won his pennon, to the great vexation of ſir Henry and the other Engliſh.

The earl of Douglas ſaid,—'I will carry this token of your proweſs with me to Scotland, and place it on the tower of my caſtle at Dalkeith, that it may be ſeen from far.'—'By God, earl of Douglas,' replied ſir Henry, 'you ſhall not even bear it out of Northumberland: be aſſured you ſhall never have this pennon to brag of.'—'You muſt come then,' anſwered earl Douglas, 'this night and ſeek for it. I will fix your pennon before my tent, and ſhall ſee if you will venture to take it away.'

As it was now late, the skirmiſh ended, and each party retired to their quarters, to diſarm and comfort themſelves. They had plenty of every thing, particularly fleſh meat. The Scots kept up a very ſtrict watch, concluding, from the words of ſir Henry Percy, they ſhould have their quarters beaten up this night: they were diſappointed, for ſir Henry was adviſed to defer it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, WHEN ENCAMPED BEFORE OTTERBOURNE, IS ATTACKED BY SIR HENRY PERCY, TO RE-CONQUER HIS PENNON, AND A GENERAL BATTLE ENSUES.

ON the morrow, the Scots diſlodged from before Newcaſtle; and, taking the road to their own country, they came to a town and caſtle called Ponclau*, of which ſir Haymon d'Alphel, a very valiant knight of Northumberland, was the lord. They halted there about four o'clock in the morning, as they learnt the knight to be within it, and made preparations for the aſſault. This was done with ſuch courage, that the place was won, and the knight made priſoner. After they had burnt the town and caſtle, they marched away for Otterbourne†, which was eight Engliſh leagues from Newcaſtle, and there encamped themſelves.

This day, they made no attack; but, very early on the morrow, their trumpets ſounded, and they made ready for the aſſault, advancing toward the caſtle, which was tolerably ſtrong, and ſituated among marſhes. They attacked it ſo long and ſo unſucceſsfully, that they were

* 'Ponclau. Pontland, a village on the Blythe, about five miles from Newcaſtle.'—W. S.

† 'Otterbourne—is ſo well known from this celebrated battle, and the old ballads, that it is almoſt needleſs to ſay it is ſituated in the pariſh of Elſdon, Northumberland.

fatigued,

fatigued, and therefore founded a retreat. When they had retired to their quarters, the chiefs held a council how to act; and the greater part were for decamping on the morrow, without attempting more againſt the caſtle, to join their countrymen in the neighbourhood of Carliſle. But the earl of Douglas overruled this, by ſaying: 'In deſpite of ſir Henry Percy, who the day before yeſterday declared he would take from me his pennon, that I conquered by fair deeds of arms before the gates of Newcaſtle, I will not depart hence for two or three days; and we will renew our attack on the caſtle, for it is to be taken: we ſhall thus gain double honour, and ſee if within that time he will come for his pennon: if he do, it ſhall be well defended.'

Every one agreed to what earl Douglas had ſaid; for it was not only honourable, but he was the principal commander; and, from affection to him, they quietly returned to their quarters. They made huts of trees and branches, and ſtrongly fortified themſelves. They placed their baggage and ſervants at the entrance of the marſh on the road to Newcaſtle, and the cattle they drove into the marſh lands.

I will return to ſir Henry and ſir Ralph Percy, who were greatly mortified that the earl of Douglas ſhould have conquered their pennon in the ſkirmiſh before Newcaſtle. They felt the more for this diſgrace, becauſe ſir Henry had not kept his word; for he had told the earl, that he ſhould never carry his pennon out of England,

land, and this he had explained to the knights who were with him in Newcaſtle.

The Engliſh imagined the army under the earl of Douglas to be only the van of the Scots, and that the main body was behind; for which reaſon thoſe knights who had the moſt experience in arms, and were the beſt acquainted with warlike affairs, ſtrongly oppoſed the propoſal of ſir Henry Percy to purſue them. They ſaid,—'Sir, many loſſes happen in war: if the earl of Douglas has won your pennon, he has bought it dear enough; for he has come to the gates to ſeek it, and has been well fought with. Another time you will gain from him as much, if not more. We ſay ſo, becauſe you know as well as we do, that the whole power of Scotland has taken the field. We are not ſufficiently ſtrong to offer them battle; and perhaps this ſkirmiſh may have been only a trick to draw us out of the town; and if they be, as reported, forty thouſand ſtrong, they will ſurround us, and have us at their mercy. It is much better to loſe a pennon than two or three hundred knights and ſquires, and leave our country in a defenceleſs ſtate.'

This ſpeech checked the eagerneſs of the two brothers Percy, for they would not act contrary to the opinion of the council; when other news was brought them by ſome knights and ſquires who had followed and obſerved the Scots, their numbers, diſpoſition, and where they had halted. This was all fully related by knights who had traverſed the whole extent of country the Scots

had

had paſſed through, that they might carry to their lords the moſt exact information. They thus ſpoke,—'Sir Henry and ſir Ralph Percy, we come to tell you that we have followed the Scottiſh army, and obſerved all the country where they now are. They firſt halted at Pontland, and took ſir Haymon de Alphel in his caſtle: thence they went to Otterbourne, and took up their quarters for the night. We are ignorant of what they did on the morrow, but they ſeemed to have taken meaſures for a long ſtay. We know for certain that their army does not conſiſt of more than three thouſand men, including all ſorts.'

Sir Henry Percy, on hearing this, was greatly rejoiced, and cried out; 'To horſe! to horſe! for by the faith I owe my God, and to my lord and father, I will ſeek to recover my pennon, and to beat up their quarters this night.' Such knights and ſquires in Newcaſtle as learnt this were willing to be of the party, and made themſelves ready.

The biſhop of Durham was expected daily at that town; for he had heard of the irruption of the Scots, and that they were before it, in which were the ſons of the earl of Northumberland preparing to offer them combat. The biſhop had collected a number of men, and was haſtening to their aſſiſtance, but ſir Henry Percy would not wait; for he was accompanied by ſix hundred ſpears, of knights and ſquires, and upwards of eight thouſand infantry, which, he ſaid, would be more than enough to fight the Scots, who

were

were but three hundred lances and two thouſand others.

When they were all aſſembled, they left Newcaſtle after dinner, and took the field in good array, following the road the Scots had taken, making for Otterbourne, which was eight ſhort leagues diſtant; but they could not advance very faſt, that their infantry might keep up with them.

As the Scots were ſupping, ſome indeed were gone to ſleep, for they had laboured hard during the day, at the attack of the caſtle, and intended renewing it in the cool of the morning, the Engliſh arrived, and miſtook, at their entrance, the huts of the ſervants for thoſe of their maſters.—They forced their way into the camp, which was, however, tolerably ſtrong, ſhouting out, 'Percy! Percy!' In ſuch caſes, you may ſuppoſe an alarm is ſoon given, and it was fortunate for the Scots the Engliſh had made their firſt attack on their ſervants' quarters, which checked them ſome little. The Scots, expecting the Engliſh, had prepared accordingly; for, while the lords were arming themſelves, they ordered a body of their infantry to join their ſervants and keep up the skirmiſh. As their men were armed, they formed themſelves under the pennons of the three princial barons, who each had his particular appointment.

In the mean time, the night advanced, but it was ſufficiently light; for the moon ſhone, and it was the month of Auguſt, when the weather is temperate and ſerene.

When

When the Scots were quite ready, and properly arrayed, they left their camp in ſilence, but did not march to meet the Engliſh. They ſkirted the ſide of a mountain which was hard by; for, during the preceding day, they had well examined the country around, and ſaid among themſelves, 'Should the Engliſh come to beat up our quarters, we will do ſo and ſo,' and thus ſettled their plans before-hand, which was the ſaving of them; for it is of the greateſt advantage to men at arms, when attacked in the night, to have previouſly arranged their mode of defence, and well to have weighed the chance of victory or defeat.

The Engliſh had ſoon overpowered the ſervants; but, as they advanced into the camp, they found freſh bodies ready to oppoſe them, and to continue the fight. The Scots, in the mean time, marched along the mountain ſide, and fell on the enemy's flank quite unexpectedly, ſhouting their cries.—This was a great ſurpriſe to the Engliſh, who, however, formed themſelves in better order, and reinforced that part of their army. The cries of Percy and Douglas reſounded on each ſide.

The battle now raged: great was the puſhing of lances, and very many of each party were ſtruck down at the firſt onſet. The Engliſh being more numerous, and anxious to defeat the enemy, kept in a compact body, and forced the Scots to retire, who were on the point of being diſcomfited.

The earl of Douglas being young, and impatient

tient to gain renown in arms, ordered his banner to advance, ſhouting, 'Douglas! Douglas!' Sir Henry and ſir Ralph Percy, indignant for the affront the earl of Douglas had put on them, by conquering their pennon, and deſirous of meeting him, haſtened to the place from which the ſounds came, calling out, 'Percy! Percy!

The two banners met, and many gallant deeds of arms enſued. The Engliſh were in ſuperior ſtrength, and fought ſo luſtily that they drove back the Scots. Sir Patrick Hepburne, and his ſon of the ſame name, did honour to their knighthood and country, by their gallantry, under the banner of Douglas, which would have been conquered but for the vigorous defence they made; and this circumſtance not only contributed to their perſonal credit, but the memory of it is continued with honour to their deſcendants.

I was made acquainted with all the particulars of this battle by knights and ſquires who had been actors in it on each ſide. There were alſo, with the Engliſh, two valiant knights from the county of Foix, whom I had the good fortune to meet at Orthès the year after this battle had been fought. Their names were ſir John de Châteauneuf and John de Cautiron. On my return from Foix, I met likewiſe at Avignon a knight and two ſquires of Scotland, of the party of earl Douglas. They knew me again, from the recollections I brought to their minds of their own country; for in my youth, I, the author of this hiſtory, travelled all through Scotland,

land, and was full fifteen days reſident with William earl of Douglas, father of earl James, of whom we are now ſpeaking, at his caſtle of Dalkeith, five miles diſtant from Edinburgh.—Earl James was then very young, but a promiſing youth, and he had a ſiſter called Blanche*.

I had my information, therefore, from both parties, who agree that it was the hardeſt and moſt obſtinate battle that was ever fought. This I readily believed, for the Engliſh and Scots are excellent men at arms, and whenever they meet in battle they do not ſpare each other; nor is there any check to their courage ſo long as their weapons endure.—When they have well beaten each other, and one party is victorious, they are ſo proud of their conqueſt, that they ranſom their priſoners inſtantly, and in ſuch courteous manner to thoſe who have been taken, that on their departure they return them their thanks. However, when in battle, there is no boy's play between them, nor do they ſhrink from the combat; and you will ſee, in the further detail of this battle, as excellent deeds performed as were ever witneſſed.

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* Blanche. Earl William Douglas was firſt married to Margaret, daughter of the earl of Mar. By her he had two children, James, who ſucceeded him in his honours, and *Iſabel*.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, IN RALLYING HIS MEN WHO WERE RETREATING, IS MORTALLY WOUNDED. —— SIR RALPH PERCY, BADLY WOUNDED, SURRENDERS TO SIR JOHN MAXWELL, WHO PUTS HIM IN THE HANDS OF THE EARL OF MORAY.

THE knights and ſquires of either party were anxious to continue the combat with vigour as long as their ſpears might be capable of holding. Cowardice was there unknown, and the moſt ſplendid courage was every where exhibited by the gallant youths of England and Scotland: they were ſo cloſely intermixed, that the archers' bows were uſeleſs, and they fought hand to hand without either battalion giving way. The Scots behaved moſt valiantly, for the Engliſh were three to one. I do not mean to ſay the Engliſh did not acquit themſelves well; for they would ſooner be ſlain or made priſoners in battle, than reproached with flight.

As I before mentioned, the two banners of Douglas and Percy met, and the men at arms, under each, exerted themſelves by every means, to gain the victory; but the Engliſh, at this attack, were ſo much the ſtronger, that the Scots were driven back. The earl of Douglas, who was of a high ſpirit, ſeeing his men repulſed, ſeized a battle-axe with both his hands, like a

gallant knight, and, to rally his men, daſhed into the midſt of his enemies, and gave ſuch blows on all around him, that no one could withſtand them, but all made way for him on every ſide; for there were none ſo well armed with helmets or plates but that they ſuffered from his battle-axe. Thus he advanced, like another Hector, thinking to recover and conquer the field, from his own proweſs, until he was met by three ſpears that were pointed at him: one ſtruck him on the ſhoulder, another on the ſtomach, near the belly, and the third entered his thigh. He could never diſengage himſelf from theſe ſpears, but was borne to the ground fighting deſperately. From that moment he never roſe again. Some of his knights and ſquires had followed him, but not all; for, though the moon ſhone, it was rather dark.

The three Engliſh lances knew they had ſtruck down ſome perſon of conſiderable rank, but never thought it was earl Douglas: had they known it, they would have been ſo rejoiced that their courage would have been redoubled, and the fortune of the day had conſequently been determined to their ſide. The Scots were ignorant alſo of their loſs until the battle was over, otherwiſe they would certainly, from deſpair, have been diſcomfited.

I will relate what befel the earl afterward. As ſoon as he fell, his head was cleaved with a battle-axe, the ſpear thruſt through his thigh, and the main body of the Engliſh marched over

him

him without paying any attention, not ſuppoſing him to be their principal enemy.

In another part of the field the earl of March and Dunbar combated valiantly; and the Engliſh gave the Scots full employment who had followed the earl of Douglas, and had engaged with the two Percies,

The earl of Moray behaved ſo gallantly in purſuing the Engliſh, that they knew not how to reſiſt him.

Of all the battles that have been deſcribed in this history, great and ſmall, this of which I am now ſpeaking was the beſt fought and the moſt ſevere; for there was not a man, knight or ſquire, who did not acquit himſelf gallantly, hand to hand with his enemy. It reſembled ſomething that of Cocherel, which was as long and as hardily diſputed.

The ſons of the earl of Northumberland, ſir Henry and ſir Ralph Percy, who were the leaders of this expedition, behaved themſelves like good knights in the combat. Almoſt a ſimilar accident befel ſir Ralph as that which happened to the earl of Douglas; for, having advanced too far, he was ſurrounded by the enemy and ſeverely wounded, and, being out of breath, ſurrendered himſelf to a Scots knight, called ſir John Makirel*, who was under the command, and of the houſehold, of the earl of Moray.

When made priſoner, the knight aſked him

* Makirel,—Maxwelle.—*Pinkerton's History of Scotland.*

who he was; for it was dark, and he knew him not. Sir Ralph was ſo weakened by loſs of blood, which was flowing from his wound, that he could ſcarcely avow himſelf to be ſir Ralph Percy. 'Well,' replied the knight, 'ſir Ralph, reſcued or not, you are my priſoner: my name is Maxwelle.'—'I agree to it,' ſaid ſir Ralph, 'but pay ſome attention to me; for I am ſo deſperately wounded, that my drawers and greaves are full of blood.'

Upon this, the Scots knight was very attentive to him; when ſuddenly hearing the cry of Moray hard by, and perceiving the earl's banner advancing to him, ſir John addreſſed himſelf to the earl of Moray, and ſaid,—'My lord, I preſent you with ſir Ralph Percy, as a priſoner; but let good care be taken of him, for he is very badly wounded.'

The earl was much pleaſed at this, and replied, 'Maxwelle, thou haſt well earned thy ſpurs this day.' He then ordered his men to take every care of ſir Ralph, who bound up and ſtaunched his wounds. The battle ſtill continued to rage, and no one could ſay at that moment which ſide would be the conqueror, for there were very many captures and reſcues that never came to my knowledge.

CHAP. XL.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS, THOUGH MORTALLY WOUNDED, ORDERS HIS BANNER TO BE RAISED, AS THE BEARER HAD BEEN SLAIN, AND FORBIDS HIS LAMENTABLE STATE TO BE MADE KNOWN TO HIS MEN, URGING THEM ON TO THE COMBAT, BY WHICH THEY DEFEAT THEIR ENEMIES AND MAKE SIR HENRY PERCY WITH MANY MORE PRISONERS.

THE young earl of Douglas had this night performed wonders in arms. When he was ſtruck down, there was a great crowd round him; and he could not raiſe himſelf, for the blow on his head was mortal. His men had followed him as cloſely as they were able; and there came to him his couſins, ſir James Lindſay, ſir John and ſir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and ſquires. They found by his ſide a gallant knight that had conſtantly attended him, who was his chaplain, and had at this time exchanged his profeſſion for that of a valliant man at arms. The whole night he had followed the earl with his battle-axe in hand, and had by his exertions more than once repulſed the Engliſh. This conduct gained the thanks of his countrymen, and turned out to his advantage, for in the ſame year he was promoted to the archdeaconry and made canon of Aberdeen. His name was ſir William de Norbenich*. To

* William of North Berwick. See note, p. 271.

ſay

ſay the truth, he was well formed in all his limbs to ſhine in battle, and was ſeverely wounded at this combat.

When theſe knights came to the earl of Douglas, they found him in a melancholy ſtate, as well as one of his knights, ſir Robert Hart, who had fought by his ſide the whole of the night, and now lay beſide him, covered with fifteen wounds from lances and other weapons.

Sir John Sinclair aſked the earl, 'Couſin, how fares it with you?'—'But ſo ſo,' replied he.—'Thanks to God, there are but few of my anceſtors who have died in chambers or in their beds. I bid you, therefore, revenge my death, for I have but little hope of living, as my heart becomes every minute more faint. Do you Walter and ſir John Sinclair raiſe up my banner, for certainly it is on the ground, from the death of David Collemine, that valiant ſquire, who bore it, and who refuſed knighthood from my hands this day, though he was equal to the moſt eminent knights for courage or loyalty, and continue to ſhout 'Douglas!' but do not tell friend or foe whether I am in your company or not; for, ſhould the enemy know the truth, they will be greatly rejoiced.'

The two brothers Sinclair, and ſir John Lindſay, obeyed his orders. The banner was raiſed and 'Douglas!' ſhouted. Their men, who had remained behind, hearing the ſhouts of 'Douglas!' ſo often repeated, aſcended a ſmall eminence, and puſhed their lances with ſuch courage that the Engliſh were repulſed, and many killed

killed or ſtruck to the ground. The Scots, by thus valiantly driving the enemy beyond the ſpot where the earl of Douglas lay dead, for he had expired on giving his laſt orders, arrived at his banner, which was borne by ſir John Sinclair. Numbers were continually increaſing, from the repeated ſhouts of 'Douglas!' and the greater part of the Scots knights and ſquires were now there.

The earls of Moray and March, with their banners and men, came thither alſo. When they were all thus collected, perceiving the Engliſh retreat, they renewed the battle with greater vigour than before. To ſay the truth, the Engliſh had harder work than the Scots, for they had come by a forced march that evening from Newcaſtle on Tyne, which was eight Engliſh leagues diſtant, to meet the Scots, by which means the greater part were exceedingly fatigued before the combat began. The Scots, on the contrary, had repoſed themſelves, which was to them of the utmoſt advantage, as was apparent from the event of the battle. In this laſt attack, they ſo completely repulſed the Engliſh, that the latter could never rally again, and the former drove them far beyond where the earl of Douglas lay on the ground. Sir Henry Percy, during this attack, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the lord Montgomery, a very valiant knight of Scotland. They had long fought hand to hand with much valour, and without hindrance from any one; for there was neither knight nor ſquire of either party who

did

did not find there his equal to fight with, and all were fully engaged. In the end, ſir Henry was made priſoner by the lord Montgomery.

You would have ſeen, in this engagement, ſuch knights and ſquires as ſir Mark Adremench, ſir Thomas Avermerſquin, ſir William, ſir James and ſir Alexander Lindſay, the lord Saltoun, ſir John Sandilands, ſir Patrick Dunbar, ſir John and ſir Walter Sinclair, ſir Patrick Hepburne and his two ſons, the lord Montgomery, ſir John Meſſurel, ſir John Gladwin, ſir William Redoue, ſir William Stuart, ſir John Haliburton, ſir John Alidier, ſir Robert Landre, ſir Alexander Ramſay, ſir Alexander Frazer, ſir John Ermouſcon, ſir William Varlan, David Fremin, Robert Colomone and his two ſons, John and Robert, who were that day knighted, and a hundred other knights and ſquires, whoſe names I cannot remember; but there was not one who did not moſt gallantly perform his part in this engagement.

On the ſide of the Engliſh, there were ſir Ralph de Longblé, ſir Matthew Redman, ſir Robert Aveugle, ſir Thomas Graty, ſir Thomas Helquon, ſir Thomas Abreton, ſir John de Liebon, ſir William Valſincon, the baron de Helcon, ſir John de Copledup, ſénéſchal of York, and many more, who on foot maintained the fight vigorouſly, both before and after the capture of ſir Henry Percy.

The battle was ſeverely fought on each ſide; but, ſuch is the ficklenes of fortune, that though the Engliſh were a more numerous body of able men

men at arms, and at the firſt onſet had repulſed the Scots, they in the end loſt the field; and all the above-named knights, except ſir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, were made priſoners. But he ſeeing they were defeated without hopes of recovery, and the Engliſh flying in all directions, while his brother-knights were ſurrendering themſelves to the Scots, mounted his horſe, and rode off.

Juſt as the defeat took place, and while the combat was continued in different parts, an Engliſh ſquire, whoſe name was Thomas Veletem, and attached to the houſehold of lord Percy, was ſurrounded by a body of Scots. He was a handſome man, and, as he ſhewed, valiant in arms. He had that and the preceding night been employed in collecting the beſt arms, and would neither ſurrender nor deign to fly. It was told me, that he had made a vow to that purpoſe, and had declared at ſome feaſt in Northumberland, that at the very firſt meeting of the Scots and Engliſh, he would acquit himſelf ſo loyally that, for having ſtood his ground, he ſhould be renowned as the beſt combatant of both parties. I alſo heard, for I never ſaw him, that I know of, that his body and limbs were of a ſtrength befitting a vigorous combatant; and he performed ſuch deeds of valour, when engaged with the banner of the earl of Moray, as aſtoniſhed the Scots, but he was ſlain while thus valiantly fighting. They would willingly have made him a priſoner for his courage; and ſeveral knights propoſed it to him, but in

vain,

vain, for he thought he ſhould be aſſiſted by his friends.

Thus died Thomas Felton, while engaged with a couſin of the king of Scotland, called Simon Gladwin, much lamented by his party.

According to what I heard, this battle was very bloody from its commencement to the defeat: but when the Scots ſaw the Engliſh were diſcomfited and ſurrendering on all ſides, they behaved courteouſly to them, ſaying, 'Sit down and diſarm yourſelves, for I am your maſter,' but never insulted them more than if they had been brothers.

The purſuit laſted a long time, and to the length of five Engliſh miles. Had the Scots been in ſufficient numbers, none would have escaped death or captivity; and if ſir Archibald Douglas, the earl of Fife, the earl of Sutherland, with the diviſion that had marched for Carliſle, had been there, they would have taken the biſhop of Durham and the town of Newcaſtle on Tyne, as I ſhall explain to you*.

CHAP.

* Through the kindneſs of my friends at Edinburgh, particularly Dr. Robert Anderſon and Walter Scott, Eſq. to whom the public are indebted for many inſtructive and amuſing performances, I am enabled to clear up, in ſome meaſure, my hiſtorian's blunders in the names of the heroes at this celebrated battle, and to add a few more particulars concerning it.

'The preſent manſion of Otterbourne, belonging to Mr. Ellis of Newcaſtle, is founded upon the ancient caſtle or tower which Douglas was beſieging when attacked by Percy. The ſ of battle is ſtill called *Battle-croſs*. There is a croſs ted on the ſpot where Douglas fell.'

See

CHAP. XLI.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM IS ANXIOUS TO SUCCOUR THE ENGLISH AND RESCUE SIR HENRY PERCY, BUT IS SO BADLY SUPPORTED BY HIS MEN, THAT HE IS FORCED TO RETREAT.—HE MAKES SIR JAMES LINDSAY PRISONER, WHO HAD TAKEN SIR MATTHEW REDMAN.

THE ſame evening that ſir Henry and ſir Ralph Percy had left Newcaſtle, the biſhop of Durham, with the remainder of the forces of that diſtrict, had arrived there and ſupped. While ſeated at table, he conſidered that he ſhould not act very honourably if he remained in the town while his countrymen had taken the

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See the two ballads on this battle, publiſhed by Dr. Percy in his Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry, and by Walter Scott, Eſq. in his Border Minſtrelſy: from the Scots ballad I extract as follows.

'Douglas was armed with an iron mace, which few but he could wield, and ruſhed into the combat, followed only by his chaplain and his two ſquires. Before his followers could come up, their brave leader lay ſtretched on the ground, with three mortal wounds, and his two ſquires dead by his ſide: the prieſt alone, armed with a lance, was protecting his maſter from farther injury. 'I die like my forefathers,' ſaid the expiring hero, 'in a field of battle, and not on a bed of ſickneſs. Conceal my death, defend my ſtandard, and avenge my

the field. In conſequence, he roſe from table, ordered his horſes to be ſaddled, and his trumpets to ſound for thoſe who had horſes to make themſelves ready, and the infanty to be drawn out in array for quitting the place.

When

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my fall.' It is an old proverb, that a dead man ſhall gain a field, and I hope it will be accompliſhed this night.'

'The two ſquires of the body to Douglas were Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning: the chaplain, Richard Lundie, afterwards archdeacon of Aberdeen.

'The banner of Douglas was borne by his natural ſon, Archibald Douglas, anceſtor of the family of Cavers, hereditary ſheriffs of Tiviotdale, amongſt whoſe archieves this glorious relic is ſtill preſerved. The earl, at the onſet, is ſaid to have charged his ſon to defend it to the laſt drop of his blood.

'Hotſpur, for his ranſom to the lord Montgomery, built the caſtle of Penoon, in Ayrſhire, belonging to the family of Montgomery, now earls of Eglintoun.'

In this ballad, Douglas is ſaid to have been murdered by one of his own men; and, in the introductory diſcourſe, there ſeems to have been a traditionary foundation for it, and the very perſon is named that was ſuppoſed to have done the deed; but Mr. Scott rejects this as totally untrue, and ariſing from the common deſire of aſſigning ſome remote and extraordinary cauſe for the death of a great man.

Dr. Percy ſays in a note, that 'Otterbourne is near the old Watling ſtreet road, in the pariſh of Elſdon. The Scots were encamped on a graſſy plain near the river Read. The place where the Scots and Engliſh fought is ſtill called Battle-riggs.'

Warriors mentioned by Froissart as engaged at Otterbourne:

'Sir Robert Avercequi. Erskine. Sir Robert Erskine of Alva was taken at Homeldown.

'Sir Marc Ordrennen. A terrible corruption of John Gordon, killed in the battle. Perhaps (like one of his ſons) he

When they had all left it, they amounted to ſeven thouſand men; that is, two thouſand on horſeback and five thouſand on foot. Although it was now night, they took the road toward Otterbourne;

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he was called familiarly ſir Jock Gordon. He was lord of Huntley.

'The lord de Sechin. William, created Lord Seton by Robert III.

'Sir John de Sobelans. Sir John Sandilands. He married a daughter of Robert II.

'Sir Patrick Sohopbone. Sir Patrick Hepburn, lord of Hailes. He repelled the deſperate aſſault made by the Engliſh upon the ſtandard of Douglas.

'Sir John Maliſnel. Sir John Maxwell, anciently ſpelled Maccuſwal. He is mentioned in the old ballad in Percy's Reliques.

'Sir Adam Gladivin. Glendonwin, or Glendinning as pronounced. He was ſlain in the battle cloſe to Douglas. His name was Simon, not Adam.

'Sir William de Redurin. Perhaps Rutherford, ſpelled anciently Ridderford of Edgerſtone.

'Sir William Stanac. Probably Stronach, an ancient Scottiſh name, or perhaps a blunder for ſir Walter Scott, a great warrior, who was aſſuredly in the engagement. He was killed at Homeldown.

'Sir John de Halpebreton. Sir John Haliburton of Dirleton.

'Sir Alidier Landre. Sir Alexander Lauder of the Baſs, a renowned hero.

'Sir William de Morbereth. Sir William Moubray.

'Sir Maubert Here. Sir Robert Hart, who was ſlain beſide Douglas. See Barry's Poem.

'Sir William de Waleram. Probably a foreigner.

'Sir John Amourſtan. Sir John Edmondſtoune. It ſeems very

Otterbourne; but they had not advanced a league from Newcaſtle before intelligence was brought that the Engliſh were engaged with the Scots. On this, the biſhop halted his men; and ſeveral more joined them, out of breath from the combat.

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very unlikely that Haggerſtoune fought on the ſide of Scotland.

'David Filium—is tranſlated by lord Berners, 'Davy his ſon;' that is, ſir John Edmonſtoune's. I can think of no Scottiſh name reſembling Filium, and none ſuch occurs in the account of the battle given by our hiſtorians.

'Robert Colennie. Perhaps Robert Campbell.

'Sir William de Fif. Sir William Fife.

'Compte d'Aſtroderne. Earl of Stratherne.

'Sir Raoul de Lombre. Sir Ralph Bulmer.

'Sir Raoul Demeren. I ſuſpect that by one of thoſe inverſions which are incident to a perſon ſpelling an unknown name from the pronunciation, Froiſſart may have written de Meren for de Mener, which would give us the name Manners, well known in northern warfare.

'Sir Robert Angle. Here, I ſuſpect, we have again one of the Langleys. There is not, that I have noticed, a family of Angles in the North of England.

'Sir Thomas Grea. Sir Thomas Gray, anceſtor of lord Tankerville.

'Sir Thomas Holeon. Holton, or Hilltown, the *t* and *c* being eaſily miſtaken in old MSS.

'Sir John Felcon. Felton. He was high ſheriff of Northumberland in the 14th of Richard II. and held by grand ſergeantcy the manor of Weſt Matfen.

'Sir John de Lierbon. Sir John Lilburne, a great Northumbrian warrior.

'Sir William Wanichon. Very likely Widdrington.

'Sir Thomas Aboiton. Abington, or Boynton.

'Le Baron de Helcon. William Carnaby was lord of the manor

combat. They were asked how the affair went: they replied, 'Badly, and unfortunately: we are defeated, and here are the Scots close at our heels.'

This second intelligence, being worse than the

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manor of Hallton and Hallton-tower in the 9th year of Henry IV. It came into his family by marriage with the heir-female of William de Halton, high sheriff of Northumberland in the 25th of Edward I. See Dugdale, vol. II. p. 92. & Escheat. de anno nono Henrici quarti.

'Sir John Colpedie. Copeland.

'Sir Aymen d'Alphel. Raymond Delaval.

'John Makirel. From his holding under the earl of Moray, and other circumstances, this gallant squire seems to have been John Maxwell; that name being anciently spelled, and perhaps pronounced Maccuswal: an *s* exchanged of *r* would make Maccural.

'William de Norbenick. William of North Berwick. Major, speaking of this valiant priest, says, that the chaplain of every Scottish baron fought by his side.

'Messire Marc Adremench. Sir Malcolm Drummond.—Three years before the battle, he had 400 livres out of the money brought over by John de Vienne.

'Mess. Thomas Avremesquin. Sir Thomas Erskine, ancestor of the family of Mar.

'Le seigneur de Saulcon. William de Abernethy, lord of Saltoun in East Lothian.

'Sir John Saintdelanx. A various spelling of Sandelands.

'Sir John Messurel. Either John Maxwell before mentioned, or John Marshal.

'Mess. John Gladwin. We have no such Scottish name as Gladwin. Barry mentions a young knight, named Gledstane, as having fallen.

'Mess. William de Redone. Perhaps William de Riddel.

'Mess. John Alidier. Sir John of Lauder, quasi a Lauder.

'Mess.

the firſt, gave the alarm to ſeveral, who broke from their ranks; and when, ſhortly after, crowds came to them flying like men defeated, they were panic-ſtruck, and ſo frightened with the bad news, that the biſhop of Durham could not retain five hundred of his men together.

'Meſſ. Robert Landre. Sir Robert Lundie, famed for his courage in the battle.

'Meſſ. John Ermouſcon. Sir John Armſtrong.

'Meſſ. William Varlan. Sir William Wardlaw.

'David Fremin. David Fleming.

'Robert Colomme. Perhaps Campbell.

'ENGLISH.

'Raoul de Longblé. Ralph de Langley, a powerful family in Northumberland, long lords of Langley Caſtle.

'Robert Aveugle. Robert of Ogle.

'Thomas Graty. Either Gray or Thomas of Grayſtock; the former moſt likely.

'Thomas Hellquon. Hilltor, Halltown or Hatton.

'Thomas Abretown. Thomas Abington.

'John Liebon. John Lilburn, above mentioned.

'Thomas Valſincon. William Walſingham.

'Le baron de Holcon. The lord of Halltown.

'Sir John de Colpedup. Sir John Copeland of Copeland Caſtle in Northumberland.

'Thomas Veleton. Thomas Felton. The 'proweſs of this ſquire ſeems to have given riſe to the ſtory of Weddrington in Chevy Chace.

'Froiſſart does not mention John Swinton of Swinton, who made a great figure at the battle of Otterbourne, and was the ſame perſon who fought with the French at the barriers of the town of Noyon, in ſir Robert Knolles' expedition in 1370, called by Froiſſart Aſſueton,' and which I tranſlated Seton, the Minſtrelſy of the Borders not being then publiſhed. This hero 'was ſlain at the battle of Homeldown.'

Now,

Now, ſuppoſing a large body had come upon them and followed them in their flight (with the addition of its being night), to regain the town, would not there have been much mischief? for thoſe acquainted with arms imagine the alarm would have been ſo great, that the Scots would have forced their way into the place with them.

When the biſhop of Durham, who was eager to reinforce the Engliſh, ſaw his own men thus join the runaways in their flight, he demanded from ſir William de Luſſy*, ſir Thomas Clifford and other knights of his company, what they were now to do? Theſe knights could not, or would not adviſe him: for to return without having done any thing would be diſhonourable, and to advance ſeemed attended with danger, they therefore remained ſilent; but the longer they waited, the more their men decreaſed in numbers.

The biſhop at length ſaid,—'Gentlemen, every thing conſidered, there is no honour in fool-hardineſs, nor is it requiſite that to one misfortune we add another: we hear and ſee that our men are defeated: this we cannot remedy; for, ſhould we attempt to reinforce them, we ſcarcely know whither we ſhould go, nor what numbers the enemy conſiſt of. We will return this night to Newcaſtle, and to-morrow re-aſſemble and march to find our enemies.' They replied, 'God aſſiſt us in it!'---Upon this they marched back to Newcaſtle.

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* De Luſſy. Q. Lucy.

Obſerve the conſequences of this alarm; for had they remained ſteady in a body, as they had left Newcaſtle, and forced the runaways to return with them, they muſt have defeated the Scots, which was the opinion of many. But it was not to be ſo, and the Scots remained victorious.

I will ſay ſomething of ſir Matthew Redman, who had mounted his horſe to eſcape from the battle, as he alone could not recover the day. On his departure, he was noticed by ſir James Lindſay, a valiant ſcots knight, who was near him, and, through courage and the hope of gain, was deſirous of purſuing him. His horſe was ready, and leaping on him with his battle-axe hung at his neck, and ſpear in hand, galloped after him, leaving his men and the battle, and came ſo cloſe to him, that he might, had he choſen, have hit him with his lance; but he ſaid,---'Ha, ſir knight, turn about; it is diſgraceful thus to fly: I am James Lindſay; and, if you do not turn, I will drive my ſpear into your back.' Sir Matthew made no reply, but ſtuck ſpurs harder into his horſe than before. In this ſtate did the chace laſt for three miles, when ſir Matthew's horſe ſtumbling under him, he leaped off, drew his ſword from the ſcabbard, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence. The ſcots knight made a thruſt at him with his lance, thinking to ſtrike him on the breaſt; but ſir Matthew, by writhing his body, eſcaped the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. Sir Matthew now ſtepped forward, and with his ſword cut the ſpear in two.

Sir

Sir James Lindſay, finding he had loſt his lance, flung the ſhaft on the ground, and, diſmounting, graſped his battle-axe, which was ſlung acroſs his ſhoulder, and handled it with one hand very dexterouſly, for the Scots are accuſtomed thus to uſe it, attacking the knight with renewed courage, who defended himſelf with much art. They purſued each other for a long time, one with the battle-axe and the other with the ſword, for there was no one to prevent them; but, at laſt, ſir James laid about him ſuch heavy blows, that ſir Matthew was quite out of breath, which made him ſurrender; and he ſaid, 'Lindſay, I yield myſelf to you.'

'Indeed!' replied the ſcots knight, 'reſcued or not.' 'I conſent,' ſaid ſir Matthew: 'you will take good care of me.' 'That I will,' anſwered ſir James. Sir Matthew on this put his ſword in the ſcabbard, and ſaid, 'Now, what do you require of me, for I am your priſoner by fair conqueſt?' 'And what is it you would wiſh me to do?' replied ſir James. 'I ſhould like,' anſwered ſir Matthew, 'to return to Newcaſtle; and, within fifteen days, I will come to you in any part of Scotland you ſhall appoint.' 'I agree,' ſaid ſir James, 'on your pledging yourſelf, that within three weeks you be in Edinburgh; and whereever you may go, you acknowledge yourſelf as my priſoner.'

Sir Matthew having ſworn to obſerve theſe conditions, each fought his horſe, that was paſturing hard by, and, having mounted, took leave and departed, ſir James by the way he had

come, to join his countrymen, and ſir Matthew to Newcaſtle.

Sir James, from the darkneſs of the night, as the moon did not ſhine very clear, miſtook his road, and had not advanced half a league before he fell in with the biſhop of Durham and more than five hundred Engliſh: he might have eſcaped this danger had he choſen it, but he thought they were his friends in purſuit of the enemy. When in the midſt of them, thoſe neareſt aſked who he was. He replied, 'I am ſir James Lindſay.' Upon this, the biſhop, who was within hearing, puſhed forward and ſaid, 'Lindſay, you are taken: ſurrender yourſelf to me.' 'And who are you?' ſaid Lindſay. 'I am the biſhop of Durham.' 'And where do you come from?' added Lindſay. 'By my faith, friend, I intended being at the battle, but unfortunately was too late; and in deſpair I am returning to Newcaſtle, whither you will accompany me.' 'If you inſiſt on it I muſt comply,' anſwered ſir James; 'but I have made a priſoner, and am now one myſelf: ſuch is the chance of war.' 'Whom have you taken?' aſked the biſhop. 'I have captured and ranſomed, after a long purſuit, ſir Matthew Redman.' 'And where is he?' ſaid the biſhop. 'On my faith,' replied ſir James, 'he is returned to Newcaſtle: he entreated I would allow him three weeks liberty, which I complied with.' 'Well, well,' ſaid the biſhop, 'let us get on to Newcaſtle, where you ſhall converſe with him.'

Thus they returned to Newcaſtle, ſir James Lindſay as priſoner to the biſhop of Durham.

Under

Under the banner of the earl of March, a ſquire of Gaſcony, John de Châteauneuf, was made priſoner, as was his companion, John de Cauteron, under the banner of the earl of Moray.

CHAP. XLII.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM MARCHES ON THE MORROW OF THE BATTLE TO THE SCOTS CAMP, BUT RETIRES WITHOUT DARING TO ATTACK IT.—THE SCOTS RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

BEFORE the dawn of day, the field was clear of combatants. The Scots had retired within their camp, and had ſent ſcouts and parties of light horſe towards Newcaſtle and on the adjacent roads, to obſerve whether the Engliſh were collecting in any large bodies, that they might not a ſecond time be ſurpriſed.

This was wiſely done; for when the biſhop of Durham was returned to Newcaſtle, and had diſarmed himſelf at his lodgings, he was very melancholy at the unfortunate news he had heard, that his couſins, the ſons of the earl of Northumberland, and all the knights who had followed them, were either taken or ſlain. He ſent for all knights and ſquires at the time in Newcaſtle, and demanded if they would ſuffer things to remain

main in their preſent ſtate, for that they would be diſgraced ſhould they return without ever ſeeing their enemies.—They held a council, and determined to arm themſelves by ſun-riſe, and to march horſe and foot after the Scots to Otterbourne and offer them battle. This reſolution was publiſhed throughout the town, and the trumpets ſounded at the appointed hour.

The whole army made themſelves ready, and were drawn up before the bridge. About ſun-riſe they left Newcaſtle, through the gate leading to Berwick, and followed the road to Otterbourne. They amounted in the whole, including horſe and foot, to ten thouſand men.

They had not advanced two leagues before it was ſignified to the Scots, that the biſhop of Durham had rallied his troops and was on his march to give them battle. This was likewiſe confirmed by their ſcouts, who brought the ſame intelligence.

Sir Matthew Redman, on his return to Newcaſtle, told the event of the battle, and of his being made priſoner by ſir James Lindſay, and learnt, to his ſurpriſe, from the biſhop, or from ſome of his people, that ſir James had in his turn been taken by the biſhop. As ſoon, therefore, as the biſhop had quitted Newcaſtle, ſir Matthew went to his lodgings in ſearch of his maſter, whom he found very melancholy, looking out of a window. 'What has brought you here, ſir James?' was the firſt ſalute of ſir Matthew. Sir James, interrupting his melancholy thoughts,

thoughts, advanced to meet him, bade him good day, and replied,---'By my faith, Redman, ill luck; for I had no ſooner parted with you, and was returning home, than I fell in with the biſhop of Durham, to whom I am priſoner, in like manner as you are to me. I believe there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ranſom, for we may finiſh the buſineſs here if my maſter conſent to it.'

'We ſhall ſoon agree as to that,' replied Redman; 'but you muſt come and dine with me; for the biſhop and his men have marched to attack your countrymen. I know not what ſucceſs they will have, nor ſhall we be informed till their return.' 'I accept your invitation,' anſwered Lindſay. In ſuch manner did theſe two enjoy each other's company in Newcaſtle.

The barons and knights of Scotland, on being informed of the biſhop of Durham's approach with ten thouſand men, held a council, whether to march away or abide the event. On mature conſideration, they reſolved on the latter, from the difficulty of finding ſo ſtrong a poſition to defend themſelves and guard their priſoners, of whom they had many. Theſe they could not carry away with them, on account of the wounded, nor were they willing to leave them behind. They formed themſelves in a ſtrong body, and had fortified their camp in ſuch manner that it could be entered by only one paſs. They then made their priſoners ſwear, that reſcued or not they would acknowledge themſelves priſoners.

When

When this was all done, they ordered their minſtrels to play as merrily as they could. The Scots have a cuſtom, when aſſembled in arms, for thoſe who are on foot to be well dreſſed, each having a large horn ſlung round his neck, in the manner of hunters, and when they blow all together, the horns being of different ſizes, the noiſe is ſo great it may be heard four miles off, to the great diſmay of their enemies and their own delight. The ſcots commanders ordered this ſort of muſic now to be played.

The biſhop of Durham with his banner, under which were at leaſt ten thouſand men, had ſcarcely approached within a league of the Scots, when they began to play ſuch a concert, that it ſeemed as if all the devils in hell had come thither to join in the noiſe, ſo that thoſe of the Engliſh who had never before heard ſuch, were much frightened. This concert laſted a conſiderable time, and then ceaſed. After a pauſe, when they thought the Engliſh were within half a league, they recommenced it, continuing it as long as before, when it again ceaſed.

The biſhop, however, kept advancing with his men in battle-array until they came within ſight of the enemy, two bow-ſhots off: the Scots then began to play louder than before, and for a longer time, during which the biſhop examined with ſurpriſe how well they had choſen their encampment, and ſtrengthened it to their advantage. Some knights held a council how they

ſhould

ſhould act, and it ſeemed that, after much deliberation, they thought it not adviſable to riſk an attack, for there were greater chances of loſs than gain, but determined to return again to Newcaſtle.

The Scots, perceiving the Engliſh were retreating, and that there was no appearance of any battle, retired within their camp to refreſh themſelves with meat and liquor. They then made preparations for departure: but becauſe ſir Ralph Percy had been dangerouſly wounded, he begged of his maſter to allow him to return to Newcaſtle, or wherever elſe in Northumberland he might have his wounds better attended to, and remain there until cured; and in caſe this favour was granted him, as ſoon as he ſhould be able to mount a horſe, he pledged to ſurrender himſelf at Edinburgh, or in any other part of Scotland.

The earl of Moray, under whoſe banner he had been taken, readily aſſented to this requeſt, and had a litter prepared for him. In a ſimilar manner, ſeveral knights and ſquires obtained their liberty, fixing on a time to return in perſon to thoſe who had captured them, or to ſend the amount of their ranſoms*.

I was

* The ranſoms were eſtimated at 200,000 francs. Robert III. granted to Henry Preſton, for the redemption of Ralph Percy, the lands and barony of Frondin, Aberdeenſhire, the town of Fyvie and place thereof, the town of Meikle Gaddies, the

I was told by thoſe who were of the victorious party, that at this battle, which was fought in the year of grace 1388, between Newcaſtle and Otterbourne, on the 19th day of Auguſt, there were taken or left dead on the field, on the ſide of the Engliſh, one thouſand and forty men of all deſcriptions; in the purſuit eight hundred and forty, and more than one thouſand wounded. Of the Scots, there were only about one hundred ſlain, and two hundred made priſoners.

As the Engliſh were flying, they at times rallied, and returned to combat thoſe who were purſuing them, whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity, and it was thus their loſs was ſo conſiderable in the purſuit. You may judge from the number of killed and priſoners on each ſide, if this battle was not hardily fought.

When every thing had been arranged, and the dead bodies of the earl of Douglas, ſir Robert Hart and ſir Simon Glendenning were incloſed within coffins, and placed on cars, they began their march, carrying with them ſir Henry Percy and upwards of forty Engliſh knights. They took the road to Melroſe on the Tweed, and on their departure they ſet fire to their huts. They lodged this night in England without any oppoſition, and on the morrow decamped very early

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the five-mark land of Park-hill. Scots Cal. f. 104.—Froiſſart apparently errs in the name of his captor; yet Mar had 20*l.* a year for a third of it, the whole exceeding 600*l.*—*Pinkerton's Hiſt. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 41. *note.*

and

and arrived at Melroſe, which is an abbey of black monks, ſituated on the borders of the two kingdoms.

They there halted, and gave directions to the friars for the burial of the earl of Douglas, whoſe obſequies were very reverently performed on the ſecond day after their arrival. His body was placed in a tomb of ſtone, with the banner of Douglas ſuſpended over it. Of this earl of Douglas, God ſave his ſoul! there was no iſſue, nor do I know who ſucceeded to the eſtate of Douglas; for when I, the author of this hiſtory, was in Scotland, at his caſtle of Dalkeith, during the lifetime of earl William, there were only two children, a boy and a girl. There were enow of the name of Douglas; for I knew five handſome brothers, ſquires, of this name, at the court of king David of Scotland, who were the children of a knight called ſir James Douglas*. The earl's arms, of three oreilles gules on a field or, deſcended to them; but I am ignorant to whom fell the land†. You muſt know, that the

* Earl James Douglas married the lady Iſabella Stuart, daughter of king Robert II. and, dying without lawful iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother, Archibald lord Galloway, called Archibald the Grim. This laſt was the iſſue of earl William's ſecond marriage with Margaret, daughter of Patrick earl of March.—*Crawford's Peerage of Scotland.*

† Theſe arms, according to Crawfurd, muſt be wrong; for, in his Peerage, the arms are deſcribed as, 'Four coats quarterly; 1. azure, a lion rampant, crowned with an imperial crown, or; 2. or, a lion rampant gules, ſurmounted of a ribbon

the ſir Archibald Douglas whom I have often mentioned as a gallant knight, and one much feared by the Engliſh, was a baſtard.

When they had finiſhed the buſineſs which had brought them to Melroſe, they departed, each to his own country; and thoſe who had priſoners carried them with them, or ranſomed them before they left Melroſe. In this matter, the Engliſh found the Scots very courteous and accommodating, which pleaſed them much, as I learnt at the caſtle of the count de Foix, from John de Châteauneuf, who had been made priſoner under the banner of the earl of March and Dunbar: he praiſed the earl exceedingly for his generoſity in allowing him to fix his ranſom at his pleaſure.

Thus did theſe men at arms ſeparate, having very ſoon and handſomely ſettled the amount of the ranſoms for their priſoners, who by degrees returned to their homes. It was told me, and I believe it, that the Scots gained two hundred thouſand francs from the ranſoms, and that never ſince the battle of Bannockburn, when the Bruce, ſir William Douglas, ſir Robert de Verſy

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bon ſable; 3. or, a feſſe cheque, azure and argent, ſurmounted of a bend ſable, charged with five buckles, or; 4. argent, three pyles gules, over all, in a ſhield of pretence argent, a heart, gules, enſigned with an imperial crown, or, on a chief azure, three mollets of the firſt, ſupported on the dexter with a ſavage, wreathed about the loins with laurel, and on the ſiniſter by a ſtag proper: creſt, a ſalamander, vomiting fire: motto, *Jumais arriere*, all within a compartment of ſtakes impaled.'

and

and ſir Simon Frazer purſued the Engliſh for three days, have they had ſo complete nor ſo gainful a victory.

When the news of it was brought to ſir Archibald Douglas, the earls of Fife and Sutherland, before Carliſle, where they were with the larger diviſion of the army, they were greatly rejoiced, but at the ſame time vexed that they had not been preſent. They held a council, and determined to retreat into Scotland ſince their companions had already marched thither. In conſequence, they broke up their camp, and reentered Scotland.

We will now leave the Engliſh and Scots, and ſpeak of the young king of France, and the large army he marched into Germany to revenge himſelf on the duke of Gueldres.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE ENTERS THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG, ON HIS MARCH TO GUELDRES. —THE DUKE OF JULIERS, FATHER OF THE DUKE OF GUELDRES, MAKES EXCUSES FOR HIS SON TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—HE IS GRACIOUSLY RECEIVED, AND HAS THE TERRITORY OF VIERSON RESTORED TO HIM, FOR WHICH HE PAYS HOMAGE TO THE KING.

WHEN the king of France and his army had croſſed the Meuſe at the bridge of Morſay*, they took the road to the Ardennes and biſhoprick of Luxembourg, and had always in advance a large body of pioneers to clear the buſhes, and level the roads. The king's army was very numerous, and well appointed. The duke of Juliers and his ſubjects much dreaded their approach, for they knew they ſhould be firſt attacked, and the country of Juliers is ſo level that the men at arms would in one day deſpoil the whole, excepting a few caſtles and towns which would perhaps make ſome little reſiſtance, but they could not hold out long.

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* Morſay. Q. Mouſon, or Mezieres.

The

The king of France entered Luxembourg, and was lodged for two days at the monaſtery where duke Winceſlaus of Brabant had been buried. At his departure, he took the road to Baſtogne*, and encamped at the diſtance of a league from where the ducheſs of Brabant was lodged. The ducheſs had notified to the duke of Burgundy her arrival at Baſtogne, who waited on her, and conducted her to the king's tent. The king received her very kindly; and, after they had converſed ſome time together, ſhe returned to Baſtogne, eſcorted by ſir John de Vienne and ſir Guy de la Trimouille. On the morrow, the king continued his march until he arrived on the borders of Germany ready to enter Juliers. But, before he had advanced ſo far, Arnold biſhop of Liege had waited on him, and had exerted himſelf much to exculpate the duke of Juliers, and to ſoften the anger the king of France bore him, as father to the duke of Gueldres, and had ſaid to the king and his uncles, that with regard to the imprudent and outrageous challenge the duke of Gueldres had ſent to France, he had never conſulted his father on the ſubject, nor informed him of it until it was done, and therefore his territories ought not to ſuffer for it.

Theſe excuſes, however, were not agreeable to the king nor to his uncles; and it was their in-

* Baſtogne, or Baſtognack, is a ſmall town in the duchy of Luxembourg: it was formerly more conſiderable, and called the Paris of the Ardennes.

tention,

tention, that unleſs the duke of Juliers came in perſon, and made a more ſatisfactory apology, putting himſelf totally in the king's mercy, he and his country ſhould be the firſt to pay for it.

The biſhop of Liege, the barons of Hasbain*, and the magiſtrates from the principal towns, who had accompanied the biſhop, now offered the king and his uncles a free entrance for their army into their country, to paſs and repaſs, and refreſh themſelves with proviſion on paying for it, and to remain there, if they ſo pleaſed.

The king and his uncles thanked them for their offer, which they did not refuſe, as they were ignorant how affairs would turn out. The biſhop returned to the duke of Juliers and archbiſhop of Cologne, and told them all that had paſſed, that they might conſider of it.

The duke of Juliers was very much alarmed leſt his country ſhould be ruined, and ſent for all thoſe knights that were dependant on him, to have their advice, for the French were daily approaching.—The lord de Coucy commanded the vanguard, of one thouſand ſpears; and with him were the duke of Lorraine and the viſcount de Meaux, with about two hundred lances more.

When the French were near the borders of Germany, they marched in a more compact body, and took great precautions in their encampments; for

* Hasbain, a ſmall territory in the circle of Weſtphalia; it forms the principal part of the biſhoprick of Liege.

a body

a body of three hundred Linfars, from the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, had collected together on their line of march. Theſe are the greateſt robbers and plunderers in the world; and they hovered alongſide the French army, to take advantage of any negligence on their part. The French were ſuſpicious of them, and dared not attempt foraging but in large bodies. I believe the lord Boucicaut, the elder, and ſir Lewis de Grach were made priſoners by them, and carried to Nimeguen. Theſe Germans rode through bye ways, and, like birds of prey, night and morning fell upon the French wherever they found a favourable opportunity; and this had made them more careful.

When the king of France was come to the confines of Juliers, and the vanguard and foragers had already entered it, the duke, unwilling that his country ſhould be deſtroyed, liſtened to the advice of the archbiſhop of Cologne and biſhop of Liege, and conſented they ſhould negotiate with the king and his uncles, and entreat that his country ſhould remain in peace, on ſuch terms as I ſhall mention.

Theſe two prelates, having laid the foundation for a peace, conducted the duke of Juliers into the king's preſence, who was attended by his uncles, the duke of Lorraine and other great barons of France of the blood royal, and his council. On the duke's approaching the king, he caſt himſelf on his knees, and made very handſome excuses for the challenge his ſon had ſent to France. He told the king, that his ſon was

a madman; that he had never conſulted him reſpecting this challenge, nor indeed in any thing elſe, but always acted for himſelf. He offered his ſervices to the king, and ſaid,—'My lord, with your permiſſion, I will go to him, and ſharply remonſtrate with him on his follies, and order him to come and make his apology to you and to your council. If he refuſe to follow my advice, and continue to act from his own headſtrong will, I offer to give you poſſeſſion of all my incloſed towns and caſtles, for you to garriſon with men at arms, and carry on the war againſt him until he ſhall ſubmit himſelf to your mercy.'

The king, on this, looked at his brother, his uncles and council, as it ſeemed to him, and to many who were preſent, a very fair offer. He made the duke riſe, who had hitherto continued on his knees, and ſaid,—'We will conſider what you have offered, and the promiſes you make us.'

The duke, having riſen, remained with the two prelates who had brought him thither; and the king retired with his uncles and privy counſellors, to diſcuſs the propoſal that had been made them.

This council laſted ſome time, and various propoſitions were made, each preſſing his different plan. The duke of Burgundy was the moſt active, as indeed the matter more eſſentially affected him, on account his being heir, in right of his ducheſs, to the ſucceſſion of the ducheſs of Brabant, and it was in truth owing to him that the king had undertaken this expedition. He was therefore very anxious that the quarrel

ſhould

ſhould be amicably terminated, and a ſolid peace eſtabliſhed between all parties, that there might not be any neceſſity for renewing the war; for the diſtance was great for the king and lords, beſides being very expenſive, and heavy on the kingdom.

After ſeveral had given their opinions, he addreſſed himſelf to the king, to the duke of Berry, and to all preſent, ſaying,—'My lord, and you brother of Berry and gentlemen of the council, whatever is raſhly or inconſiderately begun generally ends badly. We have heard our couſin, the duke of Juliers, excuſe himſelf handſomely, and we have heard the offer he has made, that his ſon ſhall do ſo likewiſe: he is of that gallantry and birth, being connected with me by blood, that we ought to believe what he has ſaid. He offers to the king his perſon, his country, his towns and caſtles, in caſe his ſon ſhall continue obſtinate, and refuſe to make any apology for his raſh challenge. If we have the duke of Juliers on our ſide, the duke of Gueldres, whom we want to puniſh, will be ſo much the more weakened, that he will the more dread us, and the ſooner bend to our will. I therefore adviſe that the excuſes of the duke of Juliers and his offer be accepted, for he has greatly humbled himſelf; and the archbiſhop of Cologne, the biſhop of Liege, with other potent barons, entreat likewiſe that this may be done.'

No one making any reply, it was unanimously agreed to; and the archbiſhop and biſhop, who had opened the negotiation, were called in.

They were told very minutely every act the duke of Juliers was to ſwear to perform, if he were deſirous his country ſhould remain in peace. Firſt, that he ſhould go himſelf, or ſend to his ſon, the duke of Gueldres, to remonſtrate with him on his folly and impertinence, in ſending ſo unuſual and rude a challenge to ſo powerful a prince as the king of France, and oblige him to come perſonally and ſubmit himſelf to the mercy of the king, if he did not ſatisfactorily excuſe himſelf. Should the duke of Gueldres refuſe compliance, through pride and weakneſs of underſtanding, and perſiſt in his opinion, then the duke of Juliers was to engage, on his oath, not to afford him the leaſt ſupport, but, on the contrary, to unite himſelf with his enemies, and to aſſiſt the army of the king, which, during the enſuing winter, would be quartered throughout the country of Juliers, in order to be ready to carry on the war againſt the duke of Gueldres; and all towns and caſtles, belonging to the duke of Juliers, ſhall receive, on the moſt friendly footing, the men at arms of France.

Theſe two prelates, who had been ſolely called to the council to remonſtrate touching theſe matters with the duke of Juliers, repeated to him what they had heard, adding ſuch weighty reaſons, that the duke aſſented to the terms: indeed, he ſaw he muſt do ſo, if he wiſhed to preſerve his country from ruin. He therefore ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve faithfully all the articles of the treaty, and to remain a firm friend to the king and to his uncles, for which his duchy was

ſaved

ſaved from being deſpoiled: but forage, of which there was enough, was completely given up to the French.

Thus did the duke of Juliers become liege man to the king of France, and paid homage for the territory of Vierſon, ſituated between Blois and Berry. He ſupped that night with the king: it was on a Thurſday; and there were ſeated at the king's table, firſt, the biſhop of Liege, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the king, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Touraine, the duke of Juliers, and the duke of Bourbon.

CHAP. XLIV.

KING CHARLES VI. QUARTERS HIS ARMY ON A FRIENDLY FOOTING, IN THE DUCHY OF JULIERS.—A SQUIRE OF AUVERGNE IS MURDERED BY A WOODCUTTER WHOM HE IS LEADING AWAY AS HIS PRISONER.

SUCH was the concluſion of the treaties between the king of France and the duke of Juliers, by which the laſt enjoyed peace, although the king quartered himſelf and his army in his duchy, which he found a rich country, and full of every kind of proviſion.

The duke of Juliers went to his ſon, but not immediately, and in the interval ſome gallant feats of arms were done; for the Germans were ſo eager of gain, that they frequently, during the night, or at very early morn, beat up the

quarters

quarters of the French: ſometimes they got the advantage, at other times they were made priſoners; but for one German that was taken, they made four Frenchmen priſoners in return. In conſequence, the conſtable of France, the lord de Coucy, the duke of Lorraine, the marſhal de Blainville, ſir John de Vienne and the lord de la Trimouille, aſſembled their men, to the amount of about four thouſand men at arms, and marched toward a town in Gueldres called Remogne*, and drew up in handſome array before it.

At this time the duke of Gueldres was within it, and thought highly of their appearance; but he made no ſally againſt them, for his force was not equal to attempt it, which vexed him much. The French men at arms remained four hours drawn up in order of battle before the place; but when they ſaw that none came out to oppoſe them, they retreated to their quarters.

It happened that this ſame evening ſeveral knights and ſquires aſſembled at the lodgings of the duke of Berry, with the intent of making an excurſion on the morrow into the enemy's country in ſearch of adventures. They each, to the amount of about one hundred lances, pledged themſelves to this; but, when the morning came, the project was broken off. A ſquire from Auvergne, called Godinos, a valiant man at arms, and ſerving under the banner of the lord

* Remogne. Q.

d'Alégre,

d'Alégre, finding this excurſion laid aſide, was much vexed thereat; and, ſpeaking of it to ſome of his companions of as good courage as himſelf, they collected about thirty ſpears, and rode out that morning, but met with no adventure.

Godinos was ſo deſirous of feats of arms, that he felt ſorely the diſappointment of returning without having ſtruck a blow, and ſaid to his companions,—'Do you ride on gently, while I and my page will ſkirt this wood, to ſee if there be any ambuſcades, or any perſons within it, and wait for me at the foot of yonder hill.' Having aſſented to this, Godinos and his page left them, and rode alongſide the wood. They had not advanced far, when he heard ſome one whiſtle: he inſtantly ſtuck ſpurs into his horſe, and came to a hollow road, where he found a Gueldrelander ſquaring timber. Godinos ſeized his ſpear, and charged the man full gallop, to his great aſtoniſhment, and made ſigns to him to follow him; for he ſaid to himſelf,—'At leaſt, I ſhall ſhow to my companions, that I have done ſomething by making this man my priſoner, and he may be of ſome uſe to us in our quarters.'

He now ſet out on his return, riding on a ſmall hackney, followed by the woodman on foot, with a large axe on his ſhoulder with which he had been working. The page of Godinos was behind, mounted on his courſer, bearing his helmet and dragging his lance, half aſleep from having left his bed too early. The German, who knew not whither he was going, nor what

might

might be done to him, thought he might as well attempt to eſcape: he therefore advanced cloſe to Godinos, and with his uplifted axe ſmote him ſuch a blow on the head as ſplit his ſkull to the teeth, and laid him dead on the ground. The page, from his diſtance and ſleepineſs, neither ſaw nor heard any thing of the matter; and the peaſant ran to hide himſelf in the wood, from which he was not far off.

Thoſe who heard of this unfortunate accident were much diſtreſſed; for Godinos was well beloved by all who knew him, particularly by his countrymen in Auvergne, for he was the man at arms moſt dreaded by the Engliſh, and the perſon who had done them moſt miſchief. He would never have been ſuffered to remain a priſoner, though twenty thouſand francs had been asked for his ranſom.

We will now return to the duke of Juliers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLV.

THE DUKE OF JULIERS AND ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE LEAVE THE KING OF FRANCE, AND GO TO THE DUKE OF GUELDRES AT NIMEGUEN. —BY THEIR REMONSTRANCES AND NEGOTIATIONS, HE OBTAINS PEACE WITH THE KING OF FRANCE AND DUCHESS OF BRABANT.

YOU have before heard how the duke of Juliers made his peace with the king of France, through the mediation of the two prelates already mentioned and the duke of Lorraine his couſin, who had taken great pains in the buſineſs, and gone to ſeek him in the town of Atdeke*, whence he had brought him, with the archbiſhop of Cologne, to a conference with the king of France and his uncles. The duke had then promiſed to oblige his ſon, the duke of Gueldres, to ſubmit himſelf to the king, otherwiſe he was to unite with the king in his war againſt him. Theſe terms he was forced to comply with, or his duchy would have been deſtroyed.

The duke of Juliers, having made his preparations, ſet out with the archbiſhop of Cologne for Gueldres, and, having croſſed the river Waal, arrived at Nimeguen, where the duke of Gueldres then reſided. He received them moſt affectionately, as was but right, for what tie is nearer than that of father or mother. He had

* Atdeke. Q.

before

before heard that the duke of Juliers had made his peace with the king of France, which was not very pleaſing to him, but he had no occaſion to ſhew his diſlike to it.

The duke of Juliers and the archbiſhop remonſtrated with him for ſome time on the ſituation he and his country were in. At firſt, he paid not any attention; for he had ſo ſtrongly connected himſelf with the king of England he could not immediately break it off, nor had he any inclination ſo to do, for his heart was devoted to the Engliſh.

He argued the matter with them obſtinately, declaring he would abide the event; and if, from the arrival of the king of France with an army, he ſhould ſuffer any loſs, he was young, and might at other times revenge himſelf on France or on the Brabanters their allies; adding, that in war the chances are uncertain, and no prince can undertake one without expecting loſs as well as gain.

This language greatly enraged the duke of Juliers, who ſaid, 'William, how will you carry on this war? and from whom do you expect compenſation for your loſſes?'—'The king of England and his power,' replied he; 'and I am very much aſtoniſhed I have had no intelligence of their fleet; for if they had kept their engagement, by which they were to come hither, I would more than once have beaten up the French quarters.'—'Do you wait for them, William?' asked the duke of Juliers. 'The Engliſh have ſo much on their hands at this moment,

moment, they cannot give you any aſſiſtance. There is our couſin, the duke of Lancaſter, at Bayonne, who has left Caſtille with the ſhattered remains of his army, having loſt the greater part by ſickneſs, and by that the ſeaſon for making war. He is ſoliciting reinforcements of men at arms and archers from England, but will not obtain twenty ſpears. On the other hand, the Engliſh have lately experienced a ſevere overthrow in battle with the Scots near Newcaſtle on Tyne, in Northumberland, in which all the chivalry of the north have been made priſoners or ſlain. England, beſides, is not unanimous in their affection to the king: you will therefore act wiſely not to depend on the Engliſh at this moment, for you will not have aſſiſtance from them, nor from any other quarter. I would therefore adviſe that you ſuffer us to manage for you, and we will pacify the king of France, and make up this quarrel without your being diſhonoured or a loſer from it.'

'My lord,' anſwered the duke of Gueldres, 'how can I with honour accommodate my difference with the king of France? Were I to have my country ruined, and be forced to go and live elſewhere, I would not do it: I am too ſtrongly bound to the king of England; and for him have I defied the king of France. Do you think,' added he, 'that for his menaces I will recal my word, or break my engagement? You only wiſh my diſgrace. I entreat you, therefore, to leave me to myſelf: I will make head againſt the French, for their threats do not

alarm

alarm me. The rain, wind, and cold weather will make war for me; and, before the month of January be arrived, they will be ſo tired and worn down, that the boldeſt among them will wiſh to be at home.'

Neither the duke of Juliers nor the archbiſhop of Cologne could, at this firſt interview, prevail on the duke of Gueldres to change his reſolution, though they were ſix days labouring at it, and daily in council. At length the duke of Juliers, finding his arguments of no avail, was ſo angry, as to ſay to him, 'that if he did not pay more attention to his advice, he would diſpleaſe him greatly, inſomuch that he ſhould never inherit one foot of his duchy of Juliers, which he would diſpoſe of to another, who ſhould be powerful enough to defend it againſt him;' adding, 'that none but a fool refuſed counſel.'

The duke of Gueldres, ſeeing his father inflamed with paſſion, replied, by way of ſoftening matters,—'Adviſe me then how with honour I may act; and ſince you deſire it, from my love to you, I will pay attention to it; for I aſſuredly owe you all obedience, and ſhall never in that be wanting.'—'Now,' ſaid the duke of Juliers, 'you ſpeak well and to the purpoſe, and we will conſider the matter.'

It was then determined, after many and long conſultations, that the duke of Gueldres ſhould wait on the king of France, and pay him the honour and reſpect befitting ſo great a prince, and ſhould excuſe himſelf for having ſent him ſuch a challenge, in ſimilar words to theſe,—

'My

'My lord, it is very true that a letter, ſealed with my ſignet, was ſent into France and delivered to you, in which was contained a challenge drawn up in very outrageous terms, and contrary to ſuch as are generally uſed in the like caſes, when princes or lords defy each other; but this I diſavow, as never having been uttered from my mouth, nor written by my commands, as I would be far from defaming your name or rank. For the confirmation of what I now ſay, and to remove all doubts, I muſt inform you, that, at the deſire of my much-redoubted lord, the king of England, and his council, with whom I have entered into very cloſe alliance, I ſent to England four of my knights, to whom I intruſted my ſignet, for them to ſeal whatever might be required of them. They were to write and ſeal, and not I: ſo that I never knew the contents of the letter ſent to France until it had been ſealed. Be pleaſed, therefore, to accept of this as my apology, for it is the truth. With regard to my oath of allegiance to my redoubted lord, the king of England, I am reſolved to adhere to it, and to obey, as far as in me lies, whatever he may command, whether to challenge you, and aſſemble my forces, wherever he may pleaſe, to oppoſe you or any other prince, except my natural lord, the emperor of Germany; for to him I have perſonally ſworn my homage in the fulleſt manner. But out of reſpect and honour to you, and as ſome recompenſe for the trouble and charges you have had, in coming to this diſtance, to learn the truth of this

this challenge, I am willing to ſwear, and that oath I will punctually keep, that, henceforward, I will never make any war upon you nor your kingdom without having firſt given you one year's notice of my intention; and, my lord, I hope you will think this ſufficient.'

The duke of Gueldres replied, that all this he would willingly ſay; for it did not ſeem to him to convey any thing blameable or diſhonourable.

Upon this being ſettled, the duke of Juliers and the archbiſhop departed, and returned to Juliers, and thence to Endesker*. At a proper ſeaſon they waited on the king of France, and related to him and his uncles every particular which had paſſed between them and the duke of Gueldres; and, that the matter might be immediately conſidered, they added, there could not any thing more be obtained from his ſon.

The king of France was ſo deſirous to ſee his couſin the duke of Gueldres, who had given him ſuch trouble, that he aſſented to the terms of the treaty. The duke of Burgundy was alſo anxious that the territories of the ducheſs of Brabant ſhould remain in peace, and took pains that this treaty ſhould be agreed to, and that the duke of Gueldres, on the ſtrength of it, ſhould come to them. There was alſo another reaſon for their conſenting to it: winter was approaching, and the nights were already cold and long. The French lords were told that Gueldres was a mi-

* Endesker. Q.

ſerable

ferable country to winter in; and they daily received information of loſſes of knights, ſquires, and horſes, that had been captured by the ambuſhes of theſe Linfars.

From all theſe reaſons, matters were ſo far concluded that the duke of Gueldres came to the French camp, and was introduced by the duke of Juliers his father, the duke of Lorraine his couſin, and the archbiſhop of Cologne, to the king's tent. There were preſent, at this interview, the king's uncles, his brother the duke of Touraine, the duke of Bar, the count de la Marche, the count de St. Pol, the count dauphin d'Auvergne, the lord de Coucy and the conſtable of France. On his entrance, the duke of Gueldres caſt himſelf on his knees before the king; but I heard that the king made him rise, (in this matter, however, I know nothing but what I learnt from others), and that he boldly excuſed himſelf for the challenge, in the terms you have before heard. The king accepted his apology; and he then declared, on his oath, that if he were ever again to challenge or make war on France, he would ſend notice of it one year beforehand. Thus did Gueldres and Brabant remain in a ſecure ſtate, and thoſe who had expected the moſt were the greateſt loſers.

Every thing being now ſettled, the duke of Gueldres ſupped with the king of France at his table; and I muſt ſay he was much looked at, for the great plague he had given them. Theſe treaties were fairly written and ſealed; and, when all was done, the lords took leave of each

other:

other: but, before the duke of Gueldres departed, he requeſted that the priſoners the French had made in this war might be given up, which was agreed to in the manner he deſired. The king of France demanded that all priſoners made from him ſhould likewiſe be ſet at liberty; but the duke of Gueldres excuſed himſelf, ſaying,—'My lord, that cannot be done: I am a poor man, and when I heard of your march hither, I ſtrengthened myſelf as much as poſſible with knights from the other ſide of the Rhine and elſewhere, agreeing with them, that every thing they might take ſhould be their own property. It is not poſſible for me, therefore, to deſpoil them of what I have given, nor have I the power ſo to do; and, ſhould I attempt it, they would make war upon me. Be pleaſed, therefore, to let this matter remain as it is, for I cannot remedy it.'

The king, perceiving he could not obtain any thing more, bore it as well as he could, without adding a word in reply, and comforted himſelf on the greatneſs of his power that could enrich ſo many poor perſons. They took leave of each other mutually ſatisfied, and orders were given for the army to march back to France. It was ſaid, the king would hold the feaſt of All-ſaints in the city of Rheims.

I will now ſay a word of the English fleet.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVI.

THE EARL OF ARUNDEL AND HIS FLEET ARE DRIVEN BY STORMS TO LA PALICE, NEAR LA ROCHELLE.—THE LORD LEWIS DE SANCERRE, HAVING HAD INFORMATION OF THIS, CHACES THEM AT SEA, BUT IN VAIN.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER MARRIES HIS DAUGHTER TO THE HEIR OF CASTILLE.

BEFORE the king of France went to Guelders, and during the time he was there, the Engliſh fleet under the command of the earl of Arundel kept hovering along his coaſts, juſt as the wind drove them, in ſearch of adventures. You muſt know, that generally from the firſt of October to All-ſaints day the weather is ſtormy; but this year it was unuſually ſo, which ſhattered the Engliſh fleet, and there was no ſeaman on board, however bold he might be, but was frightened at its violence, which forced the ſhips to run to any port leſt worſe might befal them.

The earl of Arundel, with twenty-ſeven other veſſels, made for the harbour of la Palice, two leagues diſtant from la Rochelle, where he anchored; indeed, he was forced ſo to do, for the wind was contrary and he could not leave it. When news was brought of this to la Rochelle the townſmen were much alarmed, thinking the Engliſh intended attacking the place: they

cloſed their gates, and remained guarding them for a day and a half. Intelligence came from la Palice, that the force of the Engliſh amounted to no more than twenty-two veſſels, driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, and deſirous only of putting to ſea again; that, however, the earl of Arundel, ſir Henry Beaumont, ſir William Elmham, and upwards of thirty Engliſh knights were there. The Rochellers, on this, conſulted how to act; and, having well considered the matter, they ſaid they ſhould not do their duty if they did not march to ſkirmiſh with the enemy.

At this period, the lord Lewis de Sancerre, marſhal of France, was arrayed and marſhalled before the caſtle of Bouteville, with a large body of the chivalry of Poitou, Saintonge and other parts, and had there incloſed William de Sainte Foix, a Gaſcon; for all men at arms had not accompanied the king of France, and the lord de Sancerre was lieutenant of the country, from Montpellier to la Rochelle, during the abſence of the lord de Coucy with the army in Germany. The Rochellers determined to ſend information of the arrival of the Engliſh to the lord de Sancerre, who on hearing it was much rejoiced. He ordered the townſmen to arm ſix or eight galleys, and to embark on board, for he was on his march to combat the Engliſh.—This they did; and ſir Lewis broke up his ſiege and marched away, thinking it would be more to his honour and roſit to engage the earl of Arundel and the ngliſh knights lying at anchor, than to continue

tinue the ſiege, for he could again return to this at his pleaſure.

He came to la Rochelle, followed by a large body of knights and ſquires. I know not by what means, but the earl of Arundel had information at la Palice, that the marſhal of France with a powerful company of knights and ſquires was marching to attack him. The news was not very agreeable to him; but fortunately the weather had become calm, and he inſtantly gave orders to weigh anchor and put to ſea. This was ſpeedily effected: had they waited longer they would have been ſurrounded within the haven, and every one of his veſſels muſt neceſſarily have been taken, for not one could have eſcaped.

The galleys from la Rochelle, fully armed with cannons and other artillery, appeared in ſight, ſteering for la Palice, as the Engliſh were under ſail. They chaced them two leagues, ſaluting them with their cannon, but dared not follow them further, for fear of the dangers of the ſea. They therefore returned to la Rochelle; but the marſhal of France was much angered againſt them, for having been ſo tardy to inform him of the arrival of the enemy.

The earl of Arundel ſailed for the mouth of the Garonne, to repair to Bordeaux; and the ſiege of Bouteville was put an end to, for William de Sainte Foix, during the time the marſhal had gone, as he thought, to fight the Engliſh, had provided his caſtle with all things neceſſary for a long defence.

We will now return to the duke of Lancaſter, and ſpeak of his negotiations with the king of Caſtille and duke of Berry reſpecting the marriage of his daughter. The king of Caſtille was deſirous of having her for his ſon, as the means of peace with England. The duke of Berry wiſhed her for himſelf, being very impatient to marry her.

The duke of Lancaſter was wiſe and prudent: he ſaw that the moſt advantageous alliance for himſelf and for his country was Caſtille, in preference to the duke of Berry; for by it he ſhould recover the inheritance of Caſtille for his daughter, in times to come. If he gave her to the duke of Berry, and he ſhould die before her, ſhe would be poor in comparison with other ladies; for the duke had children by his firſt marriage, who would be entitled to all his landed property. The ducheſs of Lancaſter was likewiſe more inclined to the connection with Caſtille, ſo that when ſir Helion de Lignac had left the duke, on his return to the duke of Berry in Germany, the commiſſioners from the king of Caſtille came forward, and puſhed the matter ſo warmly, that the marriage was agreed and ſworn to, between the lady Catherine and the ſon of the king of Caſtille. Proper contracts were drawn up and ſealed, with covenants to prevent any danger of breaking off the match; and the ducheſs conſented, when the whole ſhould be concluded, to conduct her daughter into Caſtille.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE, WHILE ON THE FRONTIERS OF JULIERS, HAS PART OF HIS CAMP SURPRISED, AND SEVERAL PRISONERS MADE, BY SOME GERMAN PILLAGERS.—THE KING, BEING TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE, TAKES ON HIMSELF THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS KINGDOM.---HE SENDS TO THE KING OF CASTILLE, ON HEARING OF THE MARRIAGE OF HIS SON WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, TO REMONSTRATE WITH HIM NOT TO ENTER INTO ANY TREATIES THAT MAY BE PREJUDICIAL TO HIM OR TO HIS KINGDOM.

THE king of France was ſtill on the borders of Juliers, (for you have heard on what grounds peace had been made between him and the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres) though on his march with the army back to France, when one clear moon-light night, as they were encamped on the confines of Germany, ſome German robbers, who would never accept of any terms of peace, made, about midnight, an attack on the French. Theſe men were under the lord de Blanquenemen and ſir Peter de Croncbech, and came well mounted, to obſerve where they could make the ſevereſt attack on the camp. They paſſed the quarters of the viſcount de Meaux, but found him and his men on their guard; and, having gone backward and forward without

without ſaying a word, they returned, to give an account to their leaders, at their ambuſcade, of what they had ſeen.

Shortly after, a large body of theſe Germans made an irruption on the French camp, overthrowing I know not how many, and making fourteen men at arms priſoners. The lord de la Vieville and the lord de Montkarel were among the number, in conſequence of great neglect in not having placed ſufficient guards. When it was known, on the morrow, that theſe two lords were made priſoners, the army were much vexed at it, and ever afterwards were more attentive to their guards.

When the king left Juliers, none of the garriſons remained behind: ſir William de la Trimouille and ſir Gervais de Merande joined him, and the Brabanters retired to their own homes.

While on the march, and immediately on the king's return to France, it was determined, by great deliberation of the council, that the king, who had ſince the death of his father, been under the management of his uncles, ſhould now take on himſelf the government of the kingdom, which his uncles muſt reſign into his hands, as they had enough to do elſewhere, and the king had now entered his twenty-firſt year. When this was made public, it gave univerſal ſatisfaction.

I believe the king with his uncles and brother, kept the feaſt of All-ſaints at Rheims; and that there they firſt heard of peace being made between the king of Caſtille and duke of Lancaſter,

caſter, and of the marriage of the lady Catherine with the infant.

The king of France laughed and joked much with his uncle, the duke of Berry, ſaying,—'Fair uncle, you have failed in your intended marriage, for another has ſeized the lady you meant for your bride. What do you ſay to this? How does your courage ſtand?' The duke good-humouredly replied,—'My lord, if I have been diſappointed in this, I will addreſs myſelf elſewhere.'

Thoſe preſent began to murmur about this marriage, and to ſay, it had not been concluded without ſome treaties of alliance having been formed which might be very prejudicial hereafter to France; 'for,' added ſome who ſeemed to be fully aware of the conſequences, 'ſhould England, Caſtille, and Portugal unite, and make war upon us, they would be enabled to do us very ſerious miſchief by ſea and land. It will be right for the king of France to ſend ſome diſcreet perſon to prevent this wicked king, who has thus connected himſelf with a dead man, (for the duke of Lancaſter has neither money nor men) from entering into any treaties without the conſent of the counſel of France; otherwiſe to ſay, the king would reduce him to the ſtate of the loweſt varlet with the ſame eaſe with which he had raiſed him to his preſent ſtate; for at this moment he has no ally ſtrong enough to ſupport him. A war with Caſtille would now come very opportunely; and, after dethroning this wicked king,

king, the ſon of a baſtard, the king might beſtow the crown on his brother, the duke of Touraine, who is not over rich: he would govern it wiſely, and defend it valiantly. How could this king of Caſtille think of entering into any treaty whatever with the duke of Lancaſter unknown to our king, who has ſo generouſly aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs; and had it not been for the blood of France, he muſt have loſt his realm. He bargains well, and has now done ſo; but let it be as we ſay, and he will be deſerted and diſgraced; and, in God's name, let ſuch an envoy be ſent thither as will be attended to, and make him feel how very ill he has behaved.'

Theſe murmurings increaſed ſo much that the king, his uncles and council, deliberated whom they ſhould ſend to remonſtrate with the king of Caſtille, that he enter not, at his peril, into treaties with the duke of Lancaſter and the Engliſh any way detrimental to the crown of France. If he had done ſo, or intended it, he was to be told, that the power of France would debaſe him as much, if not more than it had exalted him, and that the king and his country would not attend to any other thing before they had completed his deſtruction. It was long debated who would be the propereſt perſon to ſend thither; for it was agreed it ſhould be ſome one of courage and well ſpoken, as it would be fruitleſs ſending ſimple perſons on ſuch a meſſage. Three were named; the lord de Coucy, ſir John de Vienne admiral of France, and ſir Guy de la Trimouille, and either

of

of theſe three would be fully qualified to go to Caſtille. Having conſidered all things, they choſe ſir John de Vienne; and it was told him, on the part of the king and his council,---' Admiral, make your preparations for a journey to Caſtille: you will have no other than credential letters, for it is enough that you are maſter of the ſubject on which you are ſent. Tell the king of Caſtille to read or have read to him all the treaties of alliances, and promiſes of friendſhip, which have been formed and ſworn to between the two crowns; and remember well all the anſwers you may receive from him or his miniſters on this ſubject, that we may regulate our conduct accordingly.' All this, the Admiral ſaid he would ſtudiouſly attend to.

The admiral was not long in making preparations for his journey, and, having taken leave of the king and his uncles, left Paris, taking the road towards Burgundy; for he was deſirous of viſiting the pope and his brother at Avignon, which he did.

We will now for a while leave him, and ſay ſomething of Geoffry Tête-noir and the ſiege of Ventadour, in which he was incloſed; but we muſt firſt ſpeak of the duke of Berry, whoſe impatience to marry again was ſhewn within the year, when he took to himſelf a wife, of whom I ſhall ſpeak, and ſay who ſhe was, and where he was married.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THE DUKE OF BERRY, BEING DISAPPOINTED IN HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, SENDS TO THE COUNT DE FOIX TO DEMAND THE DAUGHTER OF THE COUNT DE BOULOGNE, WHOM HE HAD IN WARDSHIP.

THE duke of Berry, having been diſappointed in marrying the daughter of the duke of Lancaſter, was told that the count de Boulogne had a beautiful daughter called Jane, by the lady Eleanor de Comminges; that ſhe was not with her father nor mother, but in the country of Béarn with his good friend and couſin the count de Foix; that ſhe had been educated by the count, in his caſtle of Orthès, for the ſpace of nine years, and he had the wardſhip of all her property; and that the father and mother had not any way interfered ſince ſhe had been under the care of the count, nor had the young lady coſt them any thing; that ſhe had been often demanded in marriage, but the count de Foix had turned a deaf ear, ſaying, ſhe was yet too young, and in particular by ſir Bernard, brother to the count d'Armagnac, who had repeatedly preſſed the matter, promiſing, on the accompliſhment of this marriage, to put an end to his war on Béarn and his claims on that country.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding theſe fair promiſes, the count would not liſten to him, but ſaid that his couſin was too young.

He gave, however, other reaſons to his confidential friends, and ſaid to ſir Eſpaign du Lyon,--- 'Theſe Armagnacs muſt think me a great fool, when they aſk me to conſent to my deſtruction. If I give them my couſin, I ſhall add to their ſtrength, and weaken myſelf. They already withhold from her by force her inheritance, in right of her mother, of Comminges; for the count de Boulogne is as nobody to oppoſe them.'

When the count d'Armagnac and his brother, ſir Bernard, found they could not ſucceed, they ſpoke to the duke of Berry, during the life of their aunt, his firſt ducheſs, that it would be a good match for his ſon, John of Berry.

The duke in conſequence, had ſent properly-qualified persons to the count de Foix in Béarn, to entreat that all former animoſities might be forgiven and forgotten, and that he would conſent to the marriage of his couſin and ward with his ſon John; for that the count de Boulogne, her father, was very well ſatisfied that it ſhould take place.

The count entertained the envoys handſomely, but excuſed himſelf for not complying with their demand, as the lady was too young; and becauſe he had most ſolemnly promiſed and ſworn to the counteſs her mother, when ſhe delivered her into his hands, that he would never betroth her to any perſon whatever without her knowledge.

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He would therefore keep his oath, and no one ought to attempt to make him break it. Theſe were the excuſes the count made; for he knew well that his couſin, the counteſs of Comminges, who reſided with her brother, the count d'Urguel, in Arragon, would never conſent to her daughter's marriage with any one connected with the Armagnacs.

The ambaſſadors from the duke of Berry returned, therefore, unſucceſsfully; and in their abſence the count de Foix ſaid, (as I learnt from ſir Eſpaign du Lyon)---' The duke of Berry and his adviſers muſt think me very weak and ignorant, when they propoſe that I ſhould reinforce my enemies. John of Berry is couſin to my adverſaries, the Armagnacs: this match I will never conſent to, and had much rather marry her in England; and I have already had propoſals from Henry of Lancaſter, ſon to the duke of Lancaſter. If I were not affraid of two much angering the king of France, no one elſe ſhould have my couſin. At this moment I know not how to act; but I will marry her to my own ſatisfaction, to prevent any of the Armagnacs having her againſt my will; for, as the whole depends on my determination, I have no occaſion to be melancholy, or to be very anxious on this ſubject.'

When the duke of Berry knew for certain that the duke of Lancaſter intended marrying his daughter with the infant of Caſtille, and that there were no hopes of breaking it off, he was ſo

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penſive and melancloly for five or ſix days, that thoſe of his neareſt relations inquired the cauſe of it. Having opened his mind to them, and complained of his diſappointment, his council replied,---'Sir, if you have failed with the lady Catherine of Lancaſter, you may be more ſucceſsful in another quarter, with the daughter of a great lord, and who, in due time, will be a conſiderable heireſs, though at this moment ſhe is a little too young for your time of life; and I know not if the count de Foix will not on this account refuſe his conſent.' 'Is ſhe the daughter of the count de Boulogne?' aſked the duke. 'Yes, my lord.' 'In God's name,' replied the duke, 'let us make the trial.'

It was not long after this before he wrote to the count de Foix to ſignify to him, in the moſt friendly manner, that he would ſend him four knights of high quality, ſuch as the count de Sancerre, the lord de la Riviere, ſir Guy de la Trimouille and the viſcount d'Aſſy, to treat with him for his ward, the daughter of the count de Boulogne, in marriage; and theſe lords were of ſuch importance, as to juſtify him in putting implicit faith in them; but he begged of him to ſend him a ſpeedy anſwer to his letter, that theſe knights might not undertake a commiſſion that would be unſucceſsful.

The count de Foix received handſomely the meſſengers who brought this letter, and wrote back by them to the duke of Berry, that he was very happy in the propoſals he had made, and

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was ready to receive the four knights either in Foix or in Béarn; but that the conſent of the count and counteſs de Boulogne muſt firſt be had.

The duke of Berry was well pleaſed on receiving ſuch an anſwer, and negotiated with one and another, during the winter, that his marriage might take place in the courſe of the ſummer. The buſineſs, notwithſtanding, was not ſo ſoon accompliſhed; for the duke of Berry knew well that the count de Foix was not a perſon to act haſtily, and that there would be many queſtions and replies before the matter could be expected to be brought to a concluſion. He therefore prudently carried on the treaty, by ſending ſpecial meſſengers to pope Clement, who was nearly related to the young lady.

The pope was rejoiced at hearing his couſin would be ſo highly connected as with the duke of Berry, uncle to the king of France; and he wrote, in conſequence, to the count de Foix, to notify to him in an honourable manner, that he would not on any account this propoſal ſhould be rejected, for their families would be made by it.

The count de Foix received letters from all quarters; for he could, on ſuch occaſions, well diſſemble his real ſentiments, and yet retain the affections of all, the pope as well as the duke of Berry; but there were none ſo wiſe among them, that knew what were the count's real thoughts.

We will now leave this matter, and return to the ſiege of Ventadour.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

GEOFFRY TETE-NOIR IS WOUNDED IN THE HEAD, AT A SKIRMISH, AND COMMITS EXCESSES WHICH CAUSE HIS DEATH.---HE MAKES A WILL, AND SUBSTITUTES TWO GOVERNORS OF VENTADOUR IN HIS ROOM.

YOU have before heard how ſir William de Lignac and ſir John Bonne-lance, with many knights and ſquires from Auvergne and Limouſin, had beſieged the caſtle of Ventadour, and Geoffry Tête-noir within it. It was ſo ſtrong, that it could not be taken by ſtorm; and he had lain in ſuch ſtores of all things, as to ſecure a ſufficiency for ſeven or eight years, without any thing new being added. The beſiegers, who had ſurrounded it with blockhouſes, came at times to ſkirmiſh at the barriers; and it happened that, at one of theſe, Geoffry Tête-noir advanced ſo far that he was ſtruck on the head by a bolt from a croſs-bow, which paſſed through the helmet and cap underneath, and wounded him ſo ſeverely as to occaſion him to be carried to his bed. His companions were much vexed at this, and, during the time he was in this ſtate, all ſkirmiſhing ceaſed.

Had he taken proper care of himſelf, he would have ſoon been cured of this wound; but he indulged himſelf in many exceſſes, particularly in fornication,

fornication, for which he paid dearly enough by his death. He was warned of the consequences of this conduct, and told that he was in ſo dangerous a condition, (the wound having become an impoſthume) that it was neceſſary he ſhould ſettle his affairs. He did, and made his will in the way I ſhall relate.

He ordered the principal perſons of his garriſon, and thoſe who had been the moſt uſed to arms, into his preſence; and when they were come, he ſaid to them, ſitting up in his bed,— "My fair ſirs, and companions in arms, I know I am in great danger of death: we have been a long time together, and I have been a loyal captain to you all, to the utmoſt of my power; I ſhould wiſh, therefore, to ſee, before I quit this world, my ſucceſſor appointed, who would gallantly bevave himſelf towards you and defend this caſtle, which I ſhall leave plentifully ſtocked with all neceſſary things, ſuch as wines, proviſion and artillery. I therefore beg you will tell me if you have taken any ſteps, or have thought of electing any one able to govern and lead you as men at arms ought to be governed and led, for ſuch has been my manner of carrying on the war; and in truth I cared not againſt whom. I did indeed make it under ſhadow of the king of England's name, in preference to any other; but I have always looked for gain and conqueſt wherever they may be had; and ſuch ſhould never be the conduct of adventurous companions, who are for deeds of arms and to advance themſelves.

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'This country is very fertile: many good compoſitions have been made with it, though the French now check them by their war; but this cannot always laſt, for their blockhouſes and ſiege muſt have an end. Now, tell me truly, have any of you thought of the perſon who is to ſucceed me?'

The companions remaining ſilent, he again addreſſed them with the utmoſt good humour, ſaying,—'I can eaſily believe you have had ſome converſations together on what I have mentioned; and I alſo, during the time I have been forced to keep my bed, have thought on this matter for you.'—'Sir,' replied they, 'we refer the matter to you; and it will be more agreeable if it came from you than from us: you will therefore be pleaſed to inform us of your will.'

'Yes,' ſaid Geoffry, 'I will tell you, and name thoſe I wiſh to ſucceed me. Here is Alleyn Roux and his brother Peter, my couſins, who are good men at arms and of my blood: I entreat you, therefore, to accept of Alleyn as your governor, and that you will ſwear to him, in my preſence, loyalty and obedience, as well as to his brother; but I mean that Alleyn ſhould have the ſovereign command.'—'Sir,' anſwered they, 'we will cheerfully do ſo, for you have well choſen.'

All the companions then took oaths of obedience to Alleyn Roux, and to his brother Peter. When this was done, Geoffry Tête-noir again addreſſed them: 'Well, my friends, you have

complied with my requeſt, and I thank you for it. Becauſe I wiſh you ſhould partake of what you have helped me to conquer, I muſt inform you, that in that cheſt which you ſee yonder (pointing to it with his finger), there is a ſum of thirty thouſand francs. I would acquit my conſcience and myſelf towards thoſe who have faithfully ſerved me: ſay, therefore, if you will truly fulfil the articles of my will.' Having ſaid they would, he continued: 'In the firſt place, I leave to the chapel of St. George, within our walls, the ſum of fifteen hundred francs for repairs and additional buildings. I give to my miſtreſs, who has been faithfully attached to me, two thouſand five hundred francs—To Alleyn Roux, your governor, two thouſand francs—To my valets de chambre, five hundred francs—To my officers, fifteen hundred francs. The ſurplus I thus diſpoſe of: you are about thirty companions, all engaged in the ſame enterpriſe, and you ſhould behave like brothers to each other, without envy, riot or ſtrife. The ſum I have mentioned you will find in the cheſt: divide it, therefore, among you fairly and honourably; but ſhould the devil get among you, and you cannot agree, here is a well tempered ſharp axe, cut open the cheſt, and let thoſe who can, ſeize the contents.'

To this ſpeech, they unanimouſly replied,—'Lord and maſter, we will not diſagree. We have ſo much loved and feared you, we will never break the cheſt, nor diſobey any of the orders you have given us.'

Such

Such as I have related was the laſt will of Geoffry Tête-noir, who only lived two days more, and was buried in the chapel of Saint George in Ventadour. All his legacies were paid, and the overplus divided among them according to his orders, and Alleyn Roux with his brother Peter were obeyed as governors of the caſtle.

The blockade, however, was not for this raiſed, nor were the ſkirmiſhes leſs frequent. The French knights and ſquires of Auvergne and Limouſin were rejoiced at the death of Geoffry Tête-noir, and were not ſo much afraid of thoſe he had left behind, for he had been a moſt active and ſucceſsful captain in war and in forming garriſons.

We will now return to the duke of Gueldres for a ſhort time, and ſay what befel him at this ſeaſon; having already mentioned the trouble he had given to the king of France and his uncles, by forcing them to march to the borders of his country, and then to return without doing him any conſiderable damage.

CHAP. L.

THE DUKE OF GUELDRES IS MADE PRISONER IN PRUSSIA; AND, THOUGH DELIVERED BY THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER, HE RETURNS TO KEEP HIS FAITH TO THE PERSON WHO HAD TAKEN HIM.

WHEN the duke of Gueldres perceived that the whole army of France had retreated, and that peace was eſtabliſhed with the ducheſs of Brabant and his other enemies by means of the treaties, the particulars of which you have heard related: one of the articles being underſtood to have been the ſurrender of the town of Grave within the year, on ſuch conditions as had been agreed on between him, the duke of Burgundy and ducheſs of Brabant, and when he found he had now nothing to do at home, under theſe circumſtances, I ſay, he reſolved to make an excurſion into Pruſſia.

He made preparations accordingly, and, accompanied by many knights and ſquires of his own and other countries, began his journey thither about the octave of Saint Martin, taking his road through Germany. Wherever he paſſed, he was handſomely received, and arrived on the territory of Pruſſia. I know not how it happened, but he and his company were waylaid

laid in the plains, and attacked by a body of men at arms, of whom he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion, and for that reaſon they were overpowered. They loſt their arms, horſes, gold and ſilver plate, and were carried priſoners to a town hard by, where all who could ranſom themſelves did ſo: particularly the duke of Gueldres pledged himſelf to a ſquire called Arurant; his ſirname I am ignorant of; and then the duke of Gueldres and his company were led to a ſtrong town of the duke de Stulpe*, not that the duke was there in perſon.

When the grand maſter and knights of the teutonic order heard that the duke of Gueldres had been attacked and made priſoner on his road to Pruſſia, they were exceedingly enraged, and ſaid it ſhould not remain unpuniſhed, otherwiſe they would be greatly blamed. They inſtantly iſſued their ſummons for the attendance of their vaſſals, and marched with a large force of men at arms from Commiſberg† to the town wherein the duke of Gueldres was detained priſoner.

The ſquire who had made the duke priſoner,

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* Duke of Stulpe. Q. if not Ulrick, grand maſter of the teutonic order; but, on looking into the liſt of grand maſters, I find that Weinrich de Knippenrode, G. M. died - 1382
Conrad Zœlner de Rodenſtein, - - - - 1390
Conrad de Wallenrod, - - - - - - - - 1394
Conrad de Jungingen, - - - - - - - - 1407
Ulrick, killed in battle, - - - - - - - - 1410

† Commiſberg. Q. Koningſberg.

having

having heard of this expedition, was alarmed for the conſequences, and determined to leave the caſtle, as ill might befal him ſhould he be taken; but before he departed he waited on the duke of Gueldres, and thus ſpoke: 'Duke of Gueldres, you are my priſoner, and I am your maſter. You, as a gentleman, have pledged your faith and oath, that wherever I ſhould pleaſe to go, thither you would follow me. I know not if you have ſent for the grand maſter of the teutonic order, but he is marching hither in ſuch force that I do not think it prudent to wait for him. Do you remain, if you pleaſe, but I ſhall carry away your faith with me.' To this the duke of Gueldres making no reply, the ſquire departed, and, having mounted his horſe, rode off to a caſtle of greater ſtrength; but, on his going away, he added, 'You will find me at ſuch a place,' and named to him the caſtle, which was very ſtrong, and far from all roads.

He was no ſooner gone than the grand maſter arrived with a conſiderable force: no one iſſued forth to oppoſe him: and, had he found the ſquire within, he would infallibly have put him to death. He therefore returned to Koningſberg, carrying the duke of Gueldres with him.

I will relate what was the end of this event; for in whatever country it was told, and eſpecially in Germany, it was variouſly ſpoken of, to the great aſtoniſhment of all lords who heard it. When the duke of Gueldres arrived at Koningſberg, having obtained his liberty in the manner

I have

I have ſaid, he conſidered that he had pledged his faith to return to the ſquire who had made him priſoner: likewiſe remembering what the ſquire had ſaid on his departure, he was much caſt down, and thought himſelf bounden in honour to acquit himſelf loyally towards him. He therefore told the grand maſter he could not longer remain with him, nor for any diſpenſation or abſolution would give up his intention of ſurrendering himſelf to his maſter in the caſtle where he had been appointed to do ſo; which every one conſidered as an act of great honour.

When this came to the ears of his relations and ſubjects in Gueldres, they treated for his liberty, which they obtained through the means of the duke of Stulpe, who took much pains in the buſineſs; but, before the duke would conſent to his enlargement, he made the duke of Gueldres ſwear, that neither himſelf, his heirs, nor any perſon attached to him, would ever ſeek open or private revenge for the inſult he had received. Thus was the duke of Gueldres ſet at liberty; but in the year 1388 did this misfortune befal him. Let us return to ſir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and relate what he ſaid from the king of France to the king of Caſtille.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

SIR JOHN DE VIENNE, HAVING RECEIVED HIS ANSWER FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE, RETURNS TO FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER PROCEEDS IN THE MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER TO THE INFANT OF CASTILLE.—THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, HAVING MADE SOME CRUISES ON THE COASTS OF NORMANDY, RETURNS WITH HIS FLEET TO ENGLAND.

THE admiral of France continued his journey until he arrived in Caſtille, when he inquired where the king reſided. He was anſwered, 'Moſt commonly at Burgos,' whither he then rode. Having diſmounted at his inn, he made himſelf ready to go to the palace; but as ſoon as the king's houſehold heard of his arrival, he was viſited by them, moſt honourably, according to the cuſtom of the country, from their attachment to the king of France, to whom they held themſelves much indebted, and he was conducted to the king's apartment. Sir John was kindly greeted by the king, to whom he gave his letters. The king took them, and called his council aſide, when, having read and conſidered them, they found he had full powers given him, and ſir John was called and bade to explain the cauſe of his coming. He, who was ready prepared, thus ſpoke, in handſome language:

'Sir

'Sir king, and you gentlemen of his council, the king of France ſends me hither, on account of the marriage which he has heard is about to take place between your ſon and the daughter of the duke of Lancaſter, who is, as you know, his enemy. The king of France and his miniſters are greatly at a loſs to conceive how you could think of entering into any treaty of marriage, or other engagement, without their being made acquainted with it; for they ſay truly, that no union can be formed between children without great intimacy and affection of the parents being the conſequences. They therefore tell you by my mouth, to be careful not to enter into any treaties that may be prejudicial to the king of France; and that thoſe, ſo ſolemnly ſworn to be obſerved by the late king Henry, your father, the prelates, nobles and cities of the realm, be no way infringed, otherwiſe you will incur the pain of excommunication from the pope, and the indignation of the king and barons of France, whom you will find, to your diſgrace, your moſt bitter enemies. This is what I am ordered to ſay to you from the king of France and his council.'

When the king of Caſtille and thoſe preſent heard ſuch a reproachful meſſage from the king of France, they were ſo much aſtoniſhed, that they looked at each other, but not one attempted to make any reply. A biſhop, however, who happened to be there, made the following anſwer:

'Sir John, you are newly arrived in this country, and the king and ourſelves are glad to

ſee

ſee you, and bid you welcome. Fair ſir, the king has perfectly heard and underſtood your meſſage, and you ſhall ſhortly, within a day or two, have ſuch an anſwer as will give you ſatisfaction.' 'It is enough,' replied ſir John de Vienne, who then took leave of the king and council and returned to his lodgings. It was reported to me that he remained ſeven days without having any anſwer; that there was very great diſſembling on this occaſion, and he became quite melancholy, for he never ſaw the king, but remained in his apartment, ſcarcely viſited by any one. Sir John de Vienne, noticing this delay, ſpoke of it to ſome of the council, whom he ſometimes ſaw, declaring he would return without the anſwer. They ſuſpected he would keep his word and do as he ſaid, for in truth ſuch was his intention. He was therefore invited to the palace, and ſuch anſwers made him, that, on his return, he told the king of France, and thoſe who had ſent him, not to be under any uneaſineſs reſpecting the king of Caſtille or his council, for they would never enter into any treaties with England that ſhould, in the ſmalleſt degree be detrimental to thoſe which had been formed between France and Caſtille.

If the king of Caſtille married his ſon to the daughter of the duke of Lancaſter according to the unanimous wiſh of his country, as the means of obtaining peace, and extinguiſhing all claims on his crown, it ought not to have given umbrage to the king of France nor to that nation; for the king of Caſtille and his ſubjects were firmly reſolved

reſolved to adhere to every point of the treaties exiſting between them and France.

Such was the purport of the anſwer ſir John de Vienne had brought from Caſtille. The king of Caſtille and the duke of Lancaſter proceeded in the marriage, and a treaty of peace was amicably agreed on between them, by the beforementioned commiſſioners, for the duke ſtill reſided in the Bordelois. He had come with his ducheſs and daughter from Bayonne to Bordeaux, where he was joyfully received, as they were deſirous of his living among them, and thence had gone to Libourne*.

When it was known for certain, in the caſtle of the Count de Foix, that the king of Caſtille had made peace with the duke of Lancaſter, and had put an end to all his claims, by the marriage of his ſon with the lady Catherine of Lancaſter, to whom he had given extenſive territories in Caſtille, beſides a large ſum to the duke, amounting to two hundred thouſand nobles, the count was greatly aſtoniſhed, (for I was then preſent) and ſaid; 'This king of Caſtille is a poor creature to make peace with a dead man; for I am ſure the duke of Lancaſter was in ſo bad a way he knew not where to turn himſelf. On my faith,' continued the count, 'the duke is a man of ability, and has prudently managed this matter.'

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* Libourne, a town on the confluence of the Dordogne and Garonne, five leagues north-eaſt from Bordeaux.

It was about Chriſtmas that the fleet of the earl of Arundel, which had been hovering the whole year along the coaſts of Brittany, la Rochelle, Saintonge and the Bordelois, came to the ſhores of Normandy, and ſailed by Carentan. It had indeed before landed at Cherbourg, and the earl ſeemed inclined to make war on that part of the country. The town of Carentan and its dependencies were under the command of the lord de Hambre and the lord de Torci, who had with them a conſiderable number of knights and ſquires of Normandy.

The earl of Arundel learning how ſtrongly it was garriſoned, paſſed by, thinking he might loſe more than he could gain were he to attack it, and fell on another town, called Torigny*, which he took by ſtorm, and gained great wealth by plundering it. They carried away many priſoners, and marched to the barriers of Bayeux, but only made a ſlight ſkirmiſh. The Engliſh paſſed the fords of St. Clement and did great damage to thoſe parts; for they ſtaid there for fifteen days without any one coming to oppoſe them.

The marſhal de Blainville was indeed in Normandy; but he had no information of what was paſſing, or he would have provided a remedy. The Engliſh having finiſhed their expedition, and done one hundred thouſand francs of miſchief to Normandy, made a prudent retreat, and re-

* Torigny, a town in Normandy, three leagues from St. Lo, eight from Coutances.

croſſing

croſſing the fords, returned to Cherbourg, where they embarked their pillage ſafely on board the fleet: having weighed anchor, they took to the deep, and landed at Southampton. Such were the deeds done by this fleet, under the command of the earl of Arundel.

CHAP. LII.

THE LORD LEWIS DE SANCERRE VISITS THE COUNT DE FOIX AT ORTHES.—A DEED OF ARMS IS PERFORMED, BEFORE THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AT BORDEAUX, BETWEEN FIVE FRENCH AND FIVE ENGLISH MEN.

THE lord Lewis de Sancerre, marſhal of France, at this time reſided at Toulouſe or Carcaſſone in Languedoc, and was well informed of the treaties that were in agitation between the duke of Berry and the count de Foix, for the marriage of the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom the duke wiſhed to have, although the lady was very young. The marſhal had a deſire to viſit the count de Foix at Orthès, and I believe (from the information I had from his people, who found me there at Chriſtmas) the king of France had ordered him thither, and I will relate on what errand.

The king of France was at this period very young, though anxious to manage his government well. He had never viſited Languedoc, which is an

an extenſive province filled with towns and caſtles, that had been almoſt ruined by the oppreſſions of the duke of Berry. Heavy complaints of this had been made to the king when he took the government into his own hands; and he ſaid he would travel into Languedoc, and viſit the pope, whom he had never yet ſeen, and he was likewiſe deſirous of ſeeing the count de Foix, of whoſe largeſſes and valour he had heard ſo much.

The marſhal de Sancerre left Touloufe with full five hundred horſe, rode to Tarbes in Bigorre, and thence to Orthès in Béarn. The count de Foix, having had intimation of his coming, ordered the ſtewards of his houſehold to have the town of Orthès properly prepared for his reception, as his viſit gave him great pleaſure. Theſe orders were punctually obeyed, and lodgings were marked out in the town for the marſhal's attendants, but he himſelf diſmounted at the caſtle. The count de Foix went out of the town to meet him, attended by more than three hundred horſe, and received him moſt kindly. The lord Lewis de Sancerre remained at Orthès about ſix days; and he then acquainted the count of the king's intended journey into Languedoc, and his deſire to ſee him.

'In good faith,' replied the count de Foix, 'he will be welcome there, and I will with pleaſure wait on him.' 'Indeed, my lord,' anſwered the marſhal, 'but it is the king's will to know on his arrival in Languedoc, plainly and openly, whether you mean to attach yourſelf to the

French

French or to the Engliſh; for in theſe wars you have diſſembled your real ſentiments, and have never borne arms either from ſummons or entreaties.'

'Ah, lord Lewis,' ſaid the count de Foix, 'I give you many thanks for having ſpoken to me on this ſubject. If I have excuſed myſelf from bearing arms for either ſide, I have, as I think, good reaſons for it: the wars between England and France no way concern me, for I hold my country of Béarn from God, my ſword, and by inheritance. I have not, therefore, any cauſe to enter into the ſervice, or incur the hatred of either of theſe kings. I know well, that my enemies, the Armagnacs, have done all in their power to put me in the ill graces of both monarchs; for before the prince of Wales marched into Spain, at the inſtigation of the count d'Armagnac, he would have made war on me, having a ſtrong inclination for it, if ſir John Chandos had not prevented him. Thanks, however, to God, I have always kept myſelf on my guard in as courteous a manner as poſſible, and ſhall continue to do ſo as long as I live: after my death, matters muſt take the turn that is natural for them.'

Thus did the count de Foix and the marſhal de Sancerre converſe as long as he ſtaid. On his departure, the count preſented him with a handſome courſer, a fine mule and good hackney, all of them richly capariſoned. He gave alſo to ſir Robert Challies, to ſir Richard Dauphin, and to the knights of the marſhal, two hundred francs each, and to five of his ſquires fifty francs.

When

When the marſhal took his leave, to return to Toulouſe, I wanted to accompany him; but the count de Foix would not allow me, and bade me ſtay longer with him. This I was forced to comply with, and wait his will. The lord Lewis, on leaving Orthès, took the road to Tarbes, whither he was eſcorted by the lord dauphin of Bigorre, and ſir Peter Cabeſtan, one of the count de Foix's houſehold.

About this time, of the year 1389, there was a deed of arms performed at Bordeaux, before the duke of Lancaſter, between five Engliſhmen and the ſame number of French, of whom ſome were of the houſehold of the marſhal of France. The combatants were ſir Pecton d'Allagine, a gaſcon Engliſhman, againſt ſir Morice Manniguet, a Frenchman; ſir Arragon Raymond, English, againſt the baſtard de Chauvigny, French; ſir LewisMalapers, governor of Aigues-Mortes, Engliſh, againſt Jacquemin Corne de Cerf, French; Archibald de Villiers, French, againſt the ſon of the lord de Chaumont, gaſcon-engliſh. Many knights and ſquires from Béarn, and of the houſehold of the count de Foix, being deſirous of ſeeing theſe combats, went thither: I accompanied them; for it is but twenty-four leagues from Orthès to Bordeaux, and we were ſpectators of theſe duels, which were fought in the ſquare before St. Andrews, in the preſence of the duke and ducheſs of Lancaſter, their daughter, and the ladies and damſels of the country. They did not combat altogether, but each party ſeparately; and were to perform

perform three courſes with ſpears, three with ſwords, the ſame number with battle-axes, and three with daggers, all on horſeback. The tiltings occupied three days, and were gallantly performed without any of the ten being wounded. Sir Raymond killed the horſe of the baſtard de Chauvigny, which greatly angered the duke of Lancaſter: he blamed the knight much for having pointed his ſpear too low, and preſented the baſtard with one of his own horſes.

Such was the end of this deed of arms, which being finiſhed, every one returned to his own home.

CHAP. LIII.

THE DUCHESS OF LANCASTER CARRIES HER DAUGHTER TO CASTILLE, TO MARRY HER TO THE INFANT.—HAVING FOUND THE BONES OF HER FATHER, SHE HAS THEM CONVEYED TO SEVILLE, AND BURIED WITH REGAL OBSEQUIES.

SHORTLY after theſe deeds of arms, the ducheſs of Lancaſter made preparations for her journey into Caſtille, whither ſhe was to carry her daughter, to ſolemnize her marriage with the ſon of the king of Caſtille. It was her intention, when in Caſtille, to viſit the field of bat-

tle of Monteil, where her father, don Pedro, had loſt his life, and make ſtrict inquiries where his body had at that time been buried, which, when found, was to be taken up, and conveyed to the city of Seville, and magnificently interred there, in a manner becoming a king.

When in the month of March, (1389) the ſun began to have ſome force, and the days to lengthen, the ducheſs, having her array ready, ſet out from Bourdeaux, and went to Bayonne, where ſhe parted from the duke, who returned to Bordeaux. She and her ladies continued their journey to the city of Dax, where they were joyfully received, as that town belonged to England. They there repoſed themſelves for two days, and then purſued their road through the country of the Baſques, the paſs of Roncevalles, and entered Navarre. At Pampeluna, they found the king and queen of Navarre, who received them kindly: for the queen was ſiſter to the king of Caſtille.

The ducheſs of Lancaſter and her daughter were upwards of a month traverſing Navarre, for they reſided at different parts with the king and queen; and wherever they went all their expenſes were defrayed.

On their entrance into Caſtille, they were moſt reſpectfully treated by thoſe of the king's houſehold who had been ſent to meet them: there were alſo deputies from different parts of the realm; and the young prince was to have the title of prince of Galicia.

The marriage having been ſolemnized, and all contracts

contracts ſigned, the ducheſs left her daughter with the king and her young huſband, who was then but eight years old. She took leave of the king to go to Monteil, as ſhe had propoſed, who had her attended by the greateſt perſonages of his court. On her arrival at Monteil, ſuch reſearches were made, that ſhe diſcovered where her father had been buried, and had his bones taken up, waſhed and embalmed, and carried in a coffin to Seville, where the cavalcade was met by large proceſſions from that town.

The bones were conveyed to the cathedral, and there moſt reverently buried, with very ſolemn obſequies, which where attended by king John of Caſtille, his ſon, the young prince of Galicia, and the greater part of the prelates and barons of the realm.

After the obſequies, each perſon returned home: the king of Caſtille, accompanied by his ſon and daughter-in-law, went to Val di Soria; but the ducheſs of Lancaſter went to Medina del Campo, a handſome and large town, which now belonged to her by the late treaties of peace, and remained there ſome time.

We will leave ſpeaking of her and of Caſtille, and relate the marriage of the duke of Berry, and other events which enſued.

CHAP. LIV.

THE DUKE OF BERRY NEGOCIATES SO SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE COUNT DE FOIX, THAT HE SENDS TO HIM HIS COUSIN OF BOULOGNE, WHOM HE INSTANTLY MARRIES.

THE duke of Berry, whoſe firſt ducheſs, the lady Joan of Armagnac, had departed this life, was very impatient to marry again; for no ſooner was he aſſured of having failed in his propoſals to the duke of Lancaſter, than he ſet clerks to work, and, with proper meſſengers, ſent to negotiate with the count de Foix for the daughter of the count de Boulogne, whom he had had in wardſhip for nine years. Becauſe the duke of Berry had no proſpect of ſucceſs but through the count de Foix, (who was of ſuch a character that he would do nothing that was diſagreeable to himſelf for either father, mother, pope, or any friend the young lady had,) he opened himſelf to his nephew the king of France and to his brother of Burgundy, entreating them earneſtly to interfere in the buſineſs.

The king laughed moſt heartily at his uncle of Berry, who was now of a certain age, and ſaid, 'My good uncle, what will you do with a young girl

girl of only twelve years old, and you are ſixty? On my faith, it is great folly in you to think of ſuch things. Propoſe my fair couſin John, your ſon, to her, who is of a proper age, and a more ſuitable match.'

'My lord,' replied the duke, 'this has been propoſed, but the count de Foix would not liſten to it, becauſe my ſon deſcends by the mother from the Armagnacs, and they are now and have been ſome time at war. If the girl is too young, I will ſpare her a while, until ſhe be a perfect woman.'

'Indeed!' ſaid the king, 'but, my bonny uncle, ſhe will not ſpare you.' He then laughingly added, 'However, ſince we ſee your love for her is ſo ſtrong, we will cheerfully aſſiſt you in the matter.'

Not long after this, the king ordered the lord de la Riviere, his firſt knight, ſteward of his houſehold and chamberlain, to undertake a journey to Béarn, and with him the viſcount d'Aſſy. The duke of Burgundy named, as envoys on his part, the biſhop of Autun, and ſir William de la Trimouille. The duke of Berry entreated a prudent and valiant knight, count John de Sancerre, to go thither on his part.

Theſe five knights, who were appointed to demand this young lady in marriage, for the duke of Berry, from the count de Foix, left their homes, and were all to meet at Avignon. They ſtaid with pope Clement, who was couſin-german to the father of the lady, full fifteen days,

and

and about Candlemas departed, taking the road through Nimes and Montpellier to Toulouſe.

They travelled, with great ſtate and ſhort journies, unto Beziers and Carcaſſone, where they found the marſhal de Sancerre, who received them very magnificently, as was right. He converſed with them concerning the count de Foix, of his affairs and eſtabliſhments, for it was not more than two months ſince he had returned from thence.

From Carcaſſone they went to Toulouſe, and there remained while they ſent meſſengers to the count de Foix, at Orthès. They opened their propoſals of marriage, but diſtantly, for at the beginning the count was very cold, on account of the duke of Lancaſter, who at the time reſided at Bordeaux or Libourne, having made offers of his ſon, the earl of Derby, for the young lady of Boulogne; and it was thought, from the long time theſe lords remained at Toulouſe, the marriage would not take effect.

They regularly ſent daily and weekly accounts of their progreſs, and what anſwers they received from the count de Foix, to the duke of Berry, who reſided at la Nonnette* in Auvergne, and the duke whoſe only anxiety was to bring the matter to a concluſion, repeatedly wrote back to preſs them not to deſiſt until they had completed the buſineſs.

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* La Nonnette, a town in Auvergne, election of Iſſoire.

The

The count de Foix, who was wiſe and ſubtle, ſeeing the ardour of the duke, treated very coldly, and managed the matter ſo well, that, with the conſent, and indeed at the entreaty of all parties, he received thirty thouſand francs for the time the young lady had been under his care and wardſhip. He might have had a larger ſum, had he demanded it; but he wiſhed to ſhew moderation, that he might have their thanks, and alſo that the duke of Berry ſhould feel himſelf under ſome obligations to him.

When every thing was concluded, the count de Foix ſent the young lady of Boulogne to Morlans, eſcorted by five hundred lances, under the command of ſir Eſpaign du Lyon, ſir Reginald William, ſir Peter de Cabeſtan, ſir Adam de Cacaſſe, ſir Manaut Nouilles, and ſir Peter de Kes. She was there delivered, in the name of the duke of Berry, to the ambaſſadors from France, who were eſcorted by the marſhal of France with five hundred ſpears, and there the two parties ſeparated. Thoſe from Foix returned home, and the French carried with them the lady.

The duke of Berry had ſent to her his array of cars and horſes, with every ſort of dreſs and ornament for her head, as if ſhe had been queen of France. I, John Froiſſart, the author of this hiſtory, took my departure from Orthès at the ſame time with her; for the count de Foix had told me, I need not be in a hurry to leave him, for he would take care I ſhould return in good company.

The

The ducheſs of Berry, for ſuch I ſhall henceforth call her, continued her journey until ſhe came to Avignon, when ſhe diſmounted at lodgings provided for her by the pope at Villeneuve, without Avignon. On the morrow, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, all the cardinals waited on her; when, having mounted a white palfrey the pope had given her, ſhe croſſed the bridge over the Rhône in great ſtate, and waited on the pope at his palace at Avignon, who was ſeated in conſiſtory on his papal throne to receive her. He kiſſed her on the mouth, on account of their relationſhip; and the ducheſs, with her company, then went to dinner at the hôtel of the cardinal of Turin, below the pope's palace, and there met a great company of cardinals. This was on a Tueſday: the following day the pope entertained her and her attendants at dinner; and this viſit of the ducheſs, as I have heard ſay, coſt the pope ten thouſand francs.

On the Friday ſhe ſupped at the palace, and took leave of the pope. On the Saturday ſhe departed, and dined and lay at Orange. She continued her journey on horſeback, or in a carriage, through Valence and Vienne, to Lyon, where ſhe repoſed herſelf for two whole days. On her departure, ſhe went to la Breſle, then paſſing through the country of Forêts, came to la Paliſſe, in Burgundy, then to Quiſſy, to Hanche-ſur-Allier, and to Riom, in Auvergne, where ſhe likewiſe remained two days before the duke of Berry arrived. He came thither in great

ſtate,

ſtate, the night of Whitſunday, and on that day, at two o'clock in the morning, he was married to her. The marriage was very magnificent, and there were preſent the count de Boulogne, the count d'Eſtampes, and the count dauphin d'Auvergne. The feaſtings and tournaments laſted for four days, and I, the writer of this book, was a partaker of them all.

CHAP. LV.

CERTAIN PRUDENT MEN NEGOCIATE A TRUCE, FOR THREE YEARS, BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH, AND ALL THEIR ALLIES.

YOU have heard that a truce had been concluded with all the Engliſh garriſons from the Loire to the country beyond the Garonne and Gironde, to laſt until Saint John the Baptiſt's day, 1389. During this time, ſome wiſe and great lords opened a negotiation for a general truce between France and England, on ſea and land, for three years. It was the intention of theſe perſons that all the allies of either ſide ſhould be included in it, ſuch as the kings of Caſtille and Scotland, the king of Portugal, and many barons of Upper Gaſcony. They had much trouble before they could accompliſh this; for the Scots would no way liſten to it, though, when

when the propoſal was firſt made by the king of France to the king of Scotland, he himſelf had readily aſſented, for he wiſhed not for war. He ſummoned, therefore, the prelates and barons of his realm, to lay the matter before them, as he could not agree to this truce for the kingdom without their conſent; and, if he had, they would not have abided by it.

The letters which had been received from the king of France were read in their preſence, containing his wiſh that they would agree with him for a truce of three years. This intelligence was very diſagreeable to them, and they ſaid,—'The king of France ſeems to propoſe a truce, when it is the moment to continue the war: we have completely defeated the Engliſh at Otterbourne; and the ſeaſon is not ſo far advanced, but that we may do it again and again.' Many debates enſued, for they were very unwilling to accept of a truce. It was at length reſolved to ſend a biſhop and three knights to the king of France and his council, to prevent the treaty from being further advanced, and to offer the friendſhip of the realm of Scotland.

The biſhop of St. Andrews, ſir Archibald Douglas, ſir William Lindſay, and ſir John Sinclair, were appointed on this embaſſy. They departed as ſpeedily as they could, and, having landed at Sluys, rode on to Paris.

They laid their credential letters, from the prelates and barons of Scotland, before the king of France and his council, and were readily liſtened to, from the great deſire they had to proſecute

ſecute the war againſt the Engliſh. But, notwithſtanding this, the treaty was now ſo far advanced, that they could not retract: the Scots, therefore, had very civil anſwers given them; but the treaty was, of neceſſity, completed.

The truce was concluded, through the means of commiſſioners of high rank on both ſides, who held their conferences at Leulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais. In it were included all the allies of France and England, who agreed to preſerve the peace inviolate, by every means, public or private, for the ſpace of three years.

The commiſſioners from the king of France were the biſhop of Bayeux, count Waleran de Saint Pol, ſir William de Melun, ſir Nicholas Bracque and ſir John le Mercier, who reſided at Boulogne. On the part of the king of England were the biſhop of Durham, the earl of Saliſbury, ſir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais, John Lanon, Nicholas de Gaberth and Richard Roelle, clerk and doctor of laws, who remained at Calais. The place of conference, where they mutually aſſembled, was at Lulinghem, between Boulogne and Calais.

At this period, there was much buſtle in France and elſewhere, on account of the ſplendid feaſts king Charles intended holding at Paris, on the entry of his queen Iſabella, who had never as yet viſited that city. Knights, ſquires, ladies, and damſels made the richeſt dreſſes for the occaſion, of all which I will give an exact account, before I ſay more of the truce that was fairly written out, and ſealed by all the parties.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

FROISSART RELATES HIS TRAVELS AFTER HE HAD LEFT ORTHES.

YOU who take delight in this hiſtory muſt know, that on my leaving the caſtle of the noble count Gaſton de Foix, I returned through Auvergne and France, in company with the gallant lord de la Riviere and ſir William de la Trimouille, who had conducted the lady Jane of Boulogne to the duke of Berry in the town of Riom, where he had married her, as has been related; for, having been preſent at all theſe feaſts, I may well ſpeak of them. I went thence to Paris, where I met the noble lord de Coucy, one of my patrons, who had lately married a daughter to the duke of Lorraine.

The lord de Coucy entertained me kindly, and aſked many queſtions about Foix, Béarn, pope Clement, and Avignon, as well as concerning the nuptials of the duke of Berry, and of a particular friend of his, and likewiſe one of my patrons, the lord Berald, dauphin of Auvergne. To all his queſtions I ſatisfied him as to what I knew, or had ſeen, inſomuch that he was well pleaſed, and ſaid—'You ſhall come with me into Cambreſis, for I am going to a caſtle the king has given me, called Crevecœur: it is two leagues from

from Cambray, and nine from Valenciennes.' 'The diſtances are very right, my lord,' replied I, and accepted his offer. On the road, he told me, that the biſhop of Bayeux, the count de Saint Pol, ſir William de Melun, and ſir John le Mercier, were at Boulogne, by orders from the king of France; and that there were at Calais, on the part of king Richard of England, the biſhop of Durham, the earl of Saliſbury, ſir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais, ſir John Clambon, ſir Nicholas Grandbourg, knights and chamberlains to the king of England, and ſir Richard Rocharle* doctor of laws; who had remained at Boulogne and Calais upwards of a month, waiting for commiſſioners from Scotland, who were not arrived ſix days ago, as my couſin Saint Pol writes me word. The king of France has therefore written to king Robert of Scotland, to preſs him to accept of the truce, for the Engliſh will not conſent to it unleſs the Scots be included.

Thus continuing our journey, we came to

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* Clambon,—Grandbourg,—Rocharle. Theſe names are different in almoſt all the copies, MS. or printed. They are called Lanon, L'aſnon—Gaberth, Gunboch—Roolle and Rohale. Lord Berners retains them as in the preceding chapter, but totally omits them in this. The treaty, which is at length in Rymer, has the names as follows. Thoſe from France are alſo different from Froiſſart.

The biſhop of Durham,—ſir William Beauchamp, governor of Calais,—ſir John Devereux, ſteward of the king's houſehold, —ſir John Clanvow, ſir Nicholas Daggeworth, knights of the king's chamber.

Creve-

Crevecœur, where I remained with him three days to repoſe and refreſh myſelf, when I took leave, and went to Valenciennes. After ſtaying there a fortnight, I went to Holland, to viſit my gallant patron and lord, the count de Blois, whom I found at Schoenhoven. He made me good cheer, and inquired after news. I told him enough of all I had ſeen or heard, and was with him upwards of a month, as well at Gouda as Schoenhoven, and then took leave to return to France, to learn the particulars of the conferences that were holding at Leulinghem, between the French and Engliſh, and likewiſe to be preſent at the magnificent feaſts that were to be given at queen Iſabella's public entry into Paris, where as yet ſhe had never been*.

To learn the moſt I could, I travelled through Brabant, and managed to arrive at Paris eight days before the commencement of the feaſts. I had ſo much forethought, reſpecting the French

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* Underneath is the tranſlation of a note, vol. iii. p. 85. of M. Leveſque's hiſtory of the five firſt kings of the race of Valois.

'One would be tempted to believe, from the recitals of our hiſtorians, that the queen, who had now been married four years, made this her firſt entry into Paris. It is a miſtake. She was there in 1386, when Charles wrote to her, the 28th April, from Mondidier, to ſend to Amiens the amount of the taxes, and to haſten all the men at arms and foreigners that were intended for the invaſion of England from Paris. He orders her at the ſame time to proclaim war againſt the Flemings and their allies. One may conjecture, from this letter, that he had entruſted her with the regency.'

and

and Scots lords who had been at the conferences at Leulinghem, that I made acquaintance with ſir William de Melun, who related to me all their tranſactions, and that the count de St. Pol had paſſed over to England, to viſit his brother-in-law, king Richard, and to have the truce confirmed, which was to laſt for three years; but he ſaid he would be here at all events to partake of the feaſts. I aſked ſir William, 'what lords the Scots had ſent to the conference; for that in my younger days I had been in Scotland, as far as the Highlands, and as at that time I was at the court of king David, I was acquainted with the greater part of the nobility of that country.' He told me, 'that the biſhop of Aberdeen, ſir James and ſir David Lindſay, and ſir Walter Sinclair, were the commiſſioners for Scotland*.' All this I carefully remembered, that I might enregiſter it in my chronicle, with all I ſhould ſee or hear at this grand feaſt of queen Iſabella's entry, the arrangement of which was as follows.

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* The Scots commiſſioners are evidently wrong. The fineſt MS. in the Britiſh Muſeum has ſir Archibald and ſir William Lindſay, and ſir John Sinclair. But in Rymer there is mention only made of the cardinal of Glaſgow and biſhop of Dunkeld.

CHAP. LVII.

QUEEN ISABELLA OF FRANCE MAKES HER PUBLIC ENTRY INTO THE CITY OF PARIS.

ON Sunday the 20th day of June*, in the year of our lord 1399, there were ſuch crowds of people in Paris, it was marvellous to ſee them; and on this Sunday, the noble ladies of France who were to accompany the queen, aſſembled in the afternoon at Saint Denis, with ſuch of the nobility as were appointed to lead the litters of the queen and her attendants. The citizens of Paris, to the amount of twelve hundred, were mounted on horſeback, dreſſed in uniforms of green and crimſon, and lined each ſide of the road.

Queen Joan and her daughter†, the ducheſs of

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* *June.* My MSS. and that in the B. Muſeum have the 20th of *August.*

† *Queen Joan and her daughter.* I ſuſpect there muſt be ſome miſtake, although this paragraph is in all the editions I know of, printed and MS.; but I cannot diſcover who theſe perſonages were, for all the queens of that name were dead, the laſt of them the preceding year, and the duke of Touraine, the king's brother, ſucceeded to the title of duke of Orleans on the death of Philip, in 1391: he had been lately married to Valentina, of Milan, who is mentioned afterwards as forming part of the proceſſion.

Orleans,

Orleans entered Paris firſt, about an hour after noon, in a covered litter, and, paſſing through the great ſtreet of Saint Denis, went to the palace, where the king was waiting for them, and this day they went no farther.

The queen of France, attended by the ducheſs of Berry, the ducheſs of Burgundy, the ducheſs of Touraine, the ducheſs of Lorraine, the counteſs of Nevers, the lady of Coucy, with a crowd of other ladies, began the proceſſion in open litters, moſt richly ornamented. The ducheſs of Touraine was not in a litter, but to diſplay herſelf the more, was mounted on a palfrey, magnificently capariſoned.

The litter of the queen was led by the dukes of Touraine and Bourbon at the head; the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were at the centre, and the lord Peter de Navarre and the count d'Oſtrevant behind the litter, which was open and beautifully ornamented. The ducheſs of Touraine followed, on her palfrey, led by the count de la Marche and the count de Nevers, the whole advancing ſlowly, at a foot's pace. After her came the ducheſs of Burgundy and her daughter, the lady Margaret of Hainault, in an open litter, led by the lord Henry de Bar, and ſir William, the young count de Namur. Then came the ducheſs of Berry, and the daughter of the lord de Coucy, in an open and ornamented litter, led by ſir James de Bourbon, and ſir Philip d'Artois. Then the ducheſs of Bar and her daughter, led by ſir Charles d'Albret and the lord de Coucy. There was no particular mention made of the other

ladies and damſels who followed in covered chariots, or on palfreys, led by their knights. Serjeants, and others of the king's officers, had full employment, in making way for the proceſſion, and keeping off the crowd; for there were ſuch numbers aſſembled, it ſeemed as if all the world had come thither.

At the gate of Saint Denis, that opens into Paris, was the repreſentation of a ſtarry firmament, and within it were children dreſſed as angels, whoſe ſinging and chaunting was melodiouſly ſweet. There was alſo an image of the Virgin holding in her arms a child, who at times amuſed himſelf with a windmill, made of a large walnut, The upper part of this firmament was richly adorned with the arms of France and Bavaria, with a brilliant ſun diſperſing its rays through the heavens; and this ſun was the king's device at the enſuing tournaments*.

The queen of France and the ladies took delight in viewing this as they paſſed, as indeed did all who ſaw it. The queen then advanced ſlowly to the fountain, in the ſtreet of Saint Denis, which was covered and decorated with fine blue cloth, beſprinkled over with golden flower de luces. The pillars that ſurrounded the fountain were ornamented with the arms of the chief barons of France; and, inſtead of water,

* Louis XIV. took the ſame device, with the motto of 'Nec pluribus impar.'

it

it ran in great ſtreams of Clairé*, and excellent Piement†. Around this fountain were young girls handſomely dreſſed, having on their heads caps of ſolid gold, who ſang ſo ſweetly, it was a pleaſure to hear them; and they held in their hands cups of gold, offering their liquors to all who choſe to drink. The queen ſtopped there to hear and look at them, as did the ladies as they paſſed by.

Below the monaſtery of the Trinity, there was a ſcaffold erected in the ſtreet, and on this ſcaffold a caſtle, with a repreſentation of the battle with king Saladin, performed by living actors: the Chriſtians on one ſide and the Saracens on the other. All the lords of renown, who had been preſent, were repreſented with their blazoned warcoats, ſuch as were worn in thoſe times. A little above was the perſon of the king of France, ſurrounded by his twelve peers, in their proper arms; and when the queen came oppoſite the ſcaffold, king Richard was ſeen to leave his companions, and advance to the king of France, to requeſt permiſſion to fight the Saracens, which having obtained, he returns to his army, who inſtantly begin the attack on Saladin and the Saracens. The battle laſted for a conſiderable time, and was ſeen with much pleaſure.

The proceſſion then paſſed on, and came to the

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* Clairé,—I cannot find.

† Piement—is a liquor made of honey, wine, and different ſpices.—Du Cange.

ſecond gate of Saint Denis*, where, like to the firſt, there had been made a repreſentation of a richly ſtarred firmament, with the holy Trinity ſeated in great majeſty, and within the heaven little children as angels ſinging very melodiouſly. As the queen paſſed under the gate, two angels deſcended from above, holding an extraordinarily rich golden crown, ornamented with precious ſtones, which they gently placed on the head of the queen, ſweetly ſinging the following verſes:

'Dame, encloſe entre fleurs de Lys,
Reine êtes vous de Paris,
De France, et de tout le païs.
Nous en r'allons en paradis.'

When they came oppoſite the chapel of St. James, they found a ſcaffold erected on the right hand, richly decorated with tapeſtry, ſurrounded with curtains, in the manner of a chamber: within which were men who played finely on organs. The whole ſtreet of Saint Denis was covered with a canopy of rich camlet and ſilk cloths, as if they had had the cloths for nothing, or were at Alexandria or Damaſcus. I, the writer of this account, was preſent, and aſtoniſhed whence ſuch quantities of rich ſtuffs and ornaments could have come; for all the houſes on

* Denys Sauvage, in a marginal note, ſays, 'that he thinks this gate was called la Porte aux Peintres,' and was pulled down in the reign of Francis I.

It was called Porte aux Peintres, becauſe many painters reſided near it.—Sauval.

each

each ſide the great ſtreet of Saint Denis, as far as the châtelet, or indeed to the great bridge*, were hung with tapeſtries, repreſenting various ſcenes and hiſtories, to the delight of all beholders.

The queen and her ladies, conducted by great lords in their litters, arrived at length at the gate of the châtelet, where they ſtopped to ſee other ſplendid pageants that had been prepared for them. At the gate of the châtelet was erected a caſtle of wood, with towers, ſtrong enough to laſt forty years. At each of the battlements was a knight completely armed from head to foot; and in the caſtle was a ſuperb bed, as finely decorated with curtains, and every thing elſe, as if for the chamber of the king, and this bed was called the bed of juſtice, in which lay a perſon to repreſent St. Anne. On the eſplanade, before the caſtle, (which comprehended a tolerably large ſpace) was a warren and much bruſh-wood, within which were plenty of hares, rabbits, and young birds, that fled out and in again for fear of the populace. From this wood, on the ſide near the queen, there iſſued a large white hart, that made for the bed of juſtice; from another part came forth a lion and eagle, well repreſented, and proudly advanced towards the ſtag. Then twelve young maidens, richly dreſſed, with chap-

* Denys Sauvage ſays, he means by the *great* bridge, the bridge of Nôtre Dame.

lets

lets of gold on their heads, came out of the wood, holding naked ſwords in their hands, and placed themſelves between the hart, the lion and eagle, ſhewing that, with their ſwords, they were determined to defend the hart and the bed of juſtice.

The queen, the ladies and lords, having ſeen this pageant with pleaſure, paſſed on to the bridge of Nôtre Dame, which was decorated ſo handſomely, it could not be amended: it was covered with a ſtarry canopy, of green and crimſon, and the ſtreets were all hung with tapeſtry as far as the church of Nôtre Dame. When the queen and her ladies had paſſed the bridge, and were near the church, it was late in the evening; for the proceſſion, ever ſince it had ſet out from St. Denis, had advanced but a foot's pace.

The great bridge of Paris was hung all its length with green and white ſarcenet; but before the queen and her company entered Nôtre Dame, ſhe was preſented with other pageants that delighted her and her ladies very much: I will deſcribe them.

A full month before the queen's entry to Paris, a maſter engineer from Geneva had faſtened a cord to the higheſt tower of Nôtre Dame, which, paſſing high above the ſtreets, was fixed to the moſt elevated houſe on the bridge of St. Michael. As the queen was paſſing down the ſtreet of Nôtre Dame, this man left the tower, and, ſeating himſelf on the cord, deſcended, ſinging, with two lighted torches in his hand, for it was

now

now dark, to the great aſtoniſhment of all who ſaw him, how he could do it. He kept the lighted torches in his hands that he might be ſeen by all Paris, and even two or three leagues off. He played many tricks on the rope, and his agility was highly praiſed.

The biſhop of Paris and his numerous clergy, clothed in their robes, were without the church of Nôtre Dame, waiting for the queen, who was helped out of her litter by the four dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Touraine, and Bourbon.—When the other ladies had left their litters, and diſmounted from their palfreys, they all entered the church in grand proceſſion, preceded by the biſhop and prieſts, ſinging aloud to the praiſe of God and the virgin Mary.

The queen was conducted through the nave and choir to the great altar, where, on her knees, ſhe made her prayers according as ſhe thought good, and preſented, as her offering, four cloths of gold, and the handſome crown which the angels had put on her head at the gate of Paris, as has been related. The lord John de la Riviere and ſir John le Mercier inſtantly brought one more rich, with which they crowned her.

This being done, the queen and her ladies returned to their litters, wherein they were ſeated as before; and, as it was late, there were upwards of five hundred lighted tapers attending the proceſſion. In ſuch array were they conducted to the palace, where the king, queen Joan, and the ducheſs of Orleans, were waiting

for

for them*. The ladies here quitted their litters, and were conducted to different apartments; and the lords, after the dancing, returned to their hôtels†.

On the morrow, which was Monday, the king gave a grand dinner to a numerous company of

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* Denys Sauvage, in a marginal note, ſays, that this queen Joan was the widow of Charles le Bel, and her daughter Blanche married to Philip duke of Orleans, brother to the late king John.

Froiſſart has mentioned them before: but the widow of Charles le Bel died, according to l'Art de Verifier les Dates, at Brie-comte-Robert, 1370, and queen Iſabella's entry was in 1389.

† Froiſſart having omitted a curious circumſtance that happened at this entry of the queen, I ſhall tranſlate it from Les Grands Chroniques de St. Denis.

'The king, having heard what fine pageants were preparing, ſaid to Savoiſi, who was one of his valets de chambre, 'Savoiſi, I beg that thou wouldſt mount my good horſe, and I will get up behind thee; and we will diſguiſe ourſelves ſo that no one ſhall know us, and go and ſee the entry of my wife.' Savoiſi did all he could to diſſuade the king from this, but the king would be obeyed. They therefore diſguiſed themſelves, and the king rode behind Savoiſi to different parts of Paris.—They came to the châtelet as the queen was paſſing, and the crowd was ſo great, that Savoiſi got into the midſt. Bailiffs, armed with ſtaves, had been ſtationed there to prevent any harm being done to the pageant, who laid about them moſt luſtily, to keep off the crowd. Savoiſi and the king, ſtill puſhing forward, the bailiffs, who knew not the king, gave to each ſeveral ſharp blows on their ſhoulders. In the evening, the king told the ladies what had happened to him at the châtelet, and there was much laughing and joking on the occaſion among them.'

ladies;

ladies; and, at the hour of high maſs, the queen of France was led by the before-mentioned dukes to the holy chapel, where ſhe was anointed and ſanctified as queens of France uſually are. Sir William de Viare, archbiſhop of Rouen, ſaid maſs. After maſs, which was well and ſolemnly ſung, the king and queen returned to their apartments, as did the other ladies to theirs, who lodged in the palace.

Shortly after the maſs, the king, queen, and all the ladies entered the hall. You muſt know, that the great table of marble*, which is in this hall, and is never removed, was covered with an oaken plank, four inches thick, and the royal dinner placed thereon. Near the table, and againſt one of the pillars, was the king's buffet, magnificently decked out with gold and ſilver plate, and much envied by many who ſaw it.—Before the king's table, and at ſome diſtance, were wooden bars with three entrances, at which were ſerjeants at arms, uſhers, and archers, to prevent any from paſſing them but thoſe who

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* 'At one end of the hall of the palace was placed a marble table that filled up almoſt the whole breadth of it, and was of ſuch a ſize for length, breadth, and thickneſs, that it was ſuppoſed to be the greateſt ſlab of marble exiſting.

'It ſerved, for two or three hundred years, very different purpoſes: at one time, for a theatre, on which the attorney's clerks acted their mummeries, and at another for the royal feaſts, where only emperors, kings, and princes of the blood were admitted, with their ladies: the other great lords dined at ſeparate tables. It was conſumed by fire in 1618.—*Sauval Antiquités de Paris.*

ſerved the table; for, in truth, the crowd was ſo very great, there was no moving but with much difficulty. There were plenty of minſtrels, who played away to the beſt of their abilities.

The kings, prelates, and ladies, having waſhed and ſeated themſelves at table, their places were as follows: the biſhop of Noyon was ſeated at the head of the king's table, then the biſhop of Langres, and then the archbiſhop of Rouen, by the ſide of the king of France, who was that day clothed in a crimſon ſurcoat, lined with ermine, and the royal crown on his head. A little above the king was the queen, crowned alſo very richly. Next the queen was placed the king of Armenia, then the ducheſs of Berry, the ducheſs of Burgundy, the ducheſs of Touraine, madame de Nevers, mademoiſelle Bonne de Bar, madame de Coucy, and mademoiſelle Marie de Harcourt. There were none others at the king's table, except at the very lower end, the lady de Sully, wife of ſir Guy de la Trimouille.

There were two other tables in the hall, at which were ſeated upwards of five hundred ladies and damſels; but the crowd was ſo great, it was with difficulty they could be ſerved with their dinner, which was plentiful and ſumptuous. Of this it is not worth the trouble to give any particulars; but I muſt ſpeak of ſome devices which were curiouſly arranged, and would have given the king much amuſement, had thoſe who had undertaken it been able to act their parts.

In the middle of the hall was erected a caſtle of wood, forty feet high, twenty feet long, and

as

as many wide, with towers at each corner, and one larger in the middle. This caſtle was to repreſent the city of Troy the great, and the tower in the middle, the palace of Ilion, from which were diſplayed the banners of the Trojans, ſuch as king Priam, Hector, his other ſons, and of thoſe ſhut up in the place with them. The caſtle being on wheels, was very eaſily moved about. There was a pavilion likewiſe on wheels, on which were placed the banners of the Grecian kings, that was moved, as it were, by inviſible beings, to the attack of Troy. There was alſo, by way of reinforcement, a large ſhip, well built, and able to contain one hundred men at arms, that, like the two former, was ingeniouſly moved by inviſible wheels. Thoſe in the ſhip and pavilion made a ſharp attack on the caſtle, which was gallantly defended; but, from the very great crowd, this amuſement could not laſt long. There were ſo many people on all ſides, ſeveral were ſtifled by the heat; and one table near the door of the chamber of parliament, at which a numerous company of ladies and damſels were ſeated, was thrown down, and the company forced to make off as well as they could.

The queen of France was near fainting, from the exceſſive heat, and one of the doors was forced to be thrown open to admit air. The lady of Coucy was in the ſame ſituation. The king, noticing this, ordered an end to be put to the feaſt, when the tables were removed, for the ladies to have more room. Wine and ſpices

were

were ſerved around, and every one retired when the king and queen went to their apartments. Thoſe ladies who did not lodge in the palace returned to their hôtels, to recover themſelves of their ſufferings from the heat and crowd.

The lady of Coucy remained in her hôtel until it was late; but the queen, about five o'clock, left the palace, attended by the ducheſſes before named, and, mounting an open litter, proceeded through the ſtreets of Paris, followed by the ladies in litters, or on horſeback, to the reſidence of the king, at the hôtel de St. Pol. She was attended by upwards of one thouſand horſe. The king took boat at the palace, and was rowed to his hôtel, which, though it was ſufficiently large, there had been erected in the court, at the entrance leading to the Seine, an immenſe hall, covered with undreſſed cloths of Normandy, that had been ſent from divers places: the ſides were hung with tapeſtry, that repreſented ſtrange hiſtories, and gave delight to all who ſaw them.

In this hall the king entertained the ladies at a banquet; but the queen remained in her chamber, where ſhe ſupped, and did not again appear that night. The king, lords, and ladies, danced and amuſed themſelves until day-break, when the amuſements ceaſed, and every one retired to his home, each of them to ſleep and repoſe themſelves, as it was full time.

I will now ſpeak of the preſents the Pariſians made to the king, queen, and ducheſs of Touraine, who was but lately arrived in France from Lombardy: ſhe was called Valentine, and was

daughter

daughter to the duke of Milan. She had this year been married to the duke of Touraine, and had never been in Paris before this public entry of the queen: the citizens, therefore, were bound to bid her welcome.

About twelve o'clock, forty of the principal citizens of Paris, all uniformly dreſſed, waited on the king at his hôtel of Saint Pol, bringing a preſent they had diſplayed through the ſtreets of the town. Their gift was in a very richly worked litter, borne by two ſtrong men, dreſſed as ſavages. This litter was covered with a tranſparent crape of ſilk, through which might be ſeen the magnificent things it contained.

On their arrival, they advanced to the king's chamber (which was open and ready prepared to receive them, as their coming was known, and welcome is always made to thoſe who bring gifts); and, having placed the litter on veſſels, in the midſt of the apartment, they caſts themſelves on their knees, and thus ſpoke: 'Moſt beloved lord and king, your citizens of your good town of Paris preſent to you the plate that is contained in this litter, as tokens of their joy that you have taken the government of the kingdom into your own hands.'

'Many thanks, my good people,' replied the king: 'they are fair and rich.' The citizen then roſe up, and, having taken leave of the king, withdrew. When they were gone, the king

king ſaid to ſir William des Bordes, and to Montaigu*, who were then preſent, 'Let us go nearer, and examine what their gifts are.' They approached, and looked into the litter. I will now mention what preſents it contained.

Firſt, there were four pots of gold, four ſaucers to match, four golden ſalts, twelve cups of the

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* M. Leveſque ſays, that Charles owed his popularity to the wiſe choice he had made of the under-mentioned miniſters.—La Riviere, who had deſerved the friendſhip of the wiſeſt of kings:—Noviant, charged with the ſuperintendance of the finances, was of the order of nobility, though without fortune,—and Montaigu, born in obſcurity, raiſed himſelf by his talents;—but, above all, the duke of Bourbon who had preſerved his integrity, though he had been joined in the regency with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

'This John de Montaigu, grand maſter of the houſehold, and ſuperintendant of the finances to Charles VI. was accuſed of having robbed the king, and was condemned to be beheaded. This was done without the king's knowledge, at the inſtigation of the duke of Burgundy and the king of Navarre. He was beheaded in the market-place of Paris, the 17th October, 1409, and his remains were carried to the gibbet at Montfaucon, where they remained hanging for nearly three years, ſince his body was not taken down until the 17th September, 1412, and carried to the convent of the Celeſtins of Marcouſſi, which he had founded.

'Although he was executed without the knowledge of the king, he did not the leſs allow the confiſcation of his property, to be given to Louis, duke de Guienne, dauphin.

'I was, however, informed by M. Perron, who has carefully applied himſelf to learn the particulars of the life of this lord, that his property was reſtored to his heirs.'—Menagiana.

ſame,

ſame, twelve porringers, and ſix diſhes of gold alſo: the whole weighed one hundred and fifty marcs.

Another party of citizens, very handſomely equipped in uniforms of cloth, waited on the queen, and preſented her with a litter borne by two men dreſſed, one as a bear, the other as a unicorn, which they placed in her chamber, and the citizens recommended their town and inhabitants to her protection. This preſent conſiſted of the model of a ſhip in gold, two large flaggons of gold, two comfit boxes, two ſalts, ſix cups, and as many ſaucers, all of gold: twelve lamps of ſilver, two ſilver baſins, two dozen of ſilver porringers, the ſame number of ſilver cups: the whole weight of gold and ſilver being three hundred marcs.

The third preſent was carried, in like manner, to the chamber of the ducheſs of Touraine, by two men repreſenting Moors, having their faces blackened, and richly dreſſed with white turbans, as if they had been Saracens or Tartars. This litter was ornamented and covered, like the others, with gauze, and accompanied by twelve citizens in uniforms, who preſented the ducheſs with a ſhip in gold, a large flaggon of gold, two comfit boxes, two large diſhes, and two ſalts, all of gold: ſix jugs of ſilver, and two dozen cups and ſaucers of the ſame: the whole weighing two hundred marcs.

The ducheſs of Touraine was exceedingly pleaſed with this preſent, as ſhe had reaſon, for it was very magnificent, and returned handſomely

ſomely her thanks to thoſe who had brought it, and to the good city of Paris that had given it to her.

Such were the gifts made this Tueſday to the king and queen of France, and to the ducheſs of Touraine. You may judge from them the liberality and riches of the Pariſians; for it was aſſured me, the author of this hiſtory, that all theſe preſents, which I ſaw, had coſt upwards of ſixty thouſand golden crowns.

When theſe ceremonies were concluded, the hour for dinner arrived; but this day the king and his court dined in private at their different hôtels, for at three o'clock the tournament was to take place in the ſquare of Saint Catherine, where ſcaffolds had been erected for the accommodation of the queen and the ladies.

I will name the knights of this grand tournament, who were ſtyled the Knights of the Golden Sun, which, although it was that day the king of France's device, was borne by others, who tilted in hopes of gaining the prize. Theſe knights were thirty, including the king; firſt, the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, ſir James de Bourbon his brother, ſir William de Namur, ſir Oliver de Cliſſon conſtable of France, ſir John de Vienne, ſir James de Vienne, lord d'Eſpaigny, ſir Guy de la Trimouille, ſir William de la Trimouille his brother, ſir Philip de Bar, the lord de Rochefort a Breton, the lord de Rais, the lord de Beaumanoir, ſir John de Barbençon called the Ardenois, the halze of Flanders,

ders, the lord de Torcy a Normand, ſir John des Barres, the lord de Nantouillet, the lord de la Rochefoucault, the lord de Garencieres, ſir John de Harpedant, the baron d'Ury, ſir William Marciel, ſir Reginald de Roye, ſir Geoffry de Carin, ſir Charles de Changiet and ſir William de Lignac.

All theſe knights were ſumptuouſly dreſſed, and each had on his ſhield a ſplendid ſun. At three o'clock, they entered the ſquare of St. Catherine, where the queen had already arrived in a magnificent car, and the ducheſſes and other ladies in great ſtate, and taken their places on the ſeats prepared for them. The king of France next made his appearance completely equipped for tilting, of which amuſement he was very fond.

The juſts now began, and were carried on with vigour, for there were many knights from foreign parts. Sir William de Hainault, count d'Oſtrevant, tilted right well, as did thoſe knights who had accompanied him, ſuch as the lord de Gommines, ſir John d'Andregines, the lord de Cantan, ſir Anſel de Tranſſegines and ſir Clinquart de Herinno. Every one performed his part, in honour of the ladies; and the duke of Ireland tilted well: being then a reſident at Paris, the king had invited him to the tournament. A German knight from beyond the Rhine, called ſir Gervais de Mirande, gained great commendation.

The number of knights made it difficult to give a full ſtroke, and the duſt was ſo troubleſome

that it increaſed their difficulties. The lord de Coucy ſhone with brilliancy. The tilts were continued without relaxation until night, when the ladies were conducted to their hôtels.

The queen of France and her attendants were led back to the hôtel of St. Pol, where was the moſt magnificent banquet for the ladies ever heard of. The feaſt and dancing laſted until ſunriſe, and the prize of the tournament was given, with the aſſent of the ladies and heralds, to the king, as being the beſt tilter on the opponents' ſide, and the prize for the holders of the liſts was given to the halze de Flandres, baſtard-brother to the ducheſs of Burgundy.

On account of the complaints the knights made of the duſt which had prevented many from exerting themſelves to the utmoſt at the late tournament, the king ordered the liſts to be watered.—Two hundred water-carriers were employed on the Wedneſday to water the ſquare, but, notwithſtanding their efforts, there was ſtill a ſufficiency of duſt.

The count de St. Pol arrived this Wedneſday ſtraight from England, having made haſte to be preſent at theſe feaſts, and had left ſir John de Châtel-morant to follow with the treaty of the truce. The count de St. Pol was kindly received by the king and his lords: his counteſs, who had been near the perſon of the queen at theſe feſtivals, was rejoiced at his arrival.

In the afternoon of the Wedneſday, thirty ſquires, who had been in attendance the preceding

ing day, advanced to the lists where the tournaments had been held, whither the ladies also came, in the same state, and seated themselves as before. The tilting was ably and vigorously kept up until night, when the company returned to their homes. The banquet this evening at the hôtel de St. Pol was as grand as the preceding one, and the prize was adjudged by the ladies and heralds to a squire from Hainault, who had accompanied the count d'Ostrevant, called John de Flaron, as the most deserving of the opponents, and to a squire belonging to the duke of Burgundy, called John de Poulceres, for the best tenants of the field.

The tournament was continued on the Thursday, when knights and squires tilted promiscuously, and many gallant justs were done, for every one took pains to excel. Night put an end to it, and there was a grand entertainment again for the ladies, at the hôtel de St. Pol, when the prize for the opponents was given to sir Charles des Armoyes, and for the tenants, to a squire attached to the queen, called Lons.

On the Friday, the king feasted the ladies and damsels at dinner, which was very splendid and plentiful. Towards the end of it, as the king was seated at table, with the duchess of Berry, the duchess of Burgundy, the duchess of Touraine, the countess de Saint Pol, the lady of Coucy, and many more, two knights, completely armed, entered the hall, (which was very spacious, having been, as I have said, erected for the occasion) on

on barded horſes, with lances in their hands. One was ſir Reginald de Roye, the other ſir Boucicaut the younger. Having tilted bravely for ſome time, they were joined by ſir William de Namur, ſir Charles des Armoyes, the lord de Garencieres, the lord de Nantouillet, ſir John de Barbençon and ſeveral others, who gallantly tilted for two hours before the king and ladies; and, when they had ſufficiently amuſed themſelves, they returned to their hôtels.

The ladies and damſels took their leave, this Friday, of the king and queen, as did ſuch lords as pleaſed, and returned to their homes. The king and queen thanked very graciouſly ſuch as took leave, for having come to this feaſt.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

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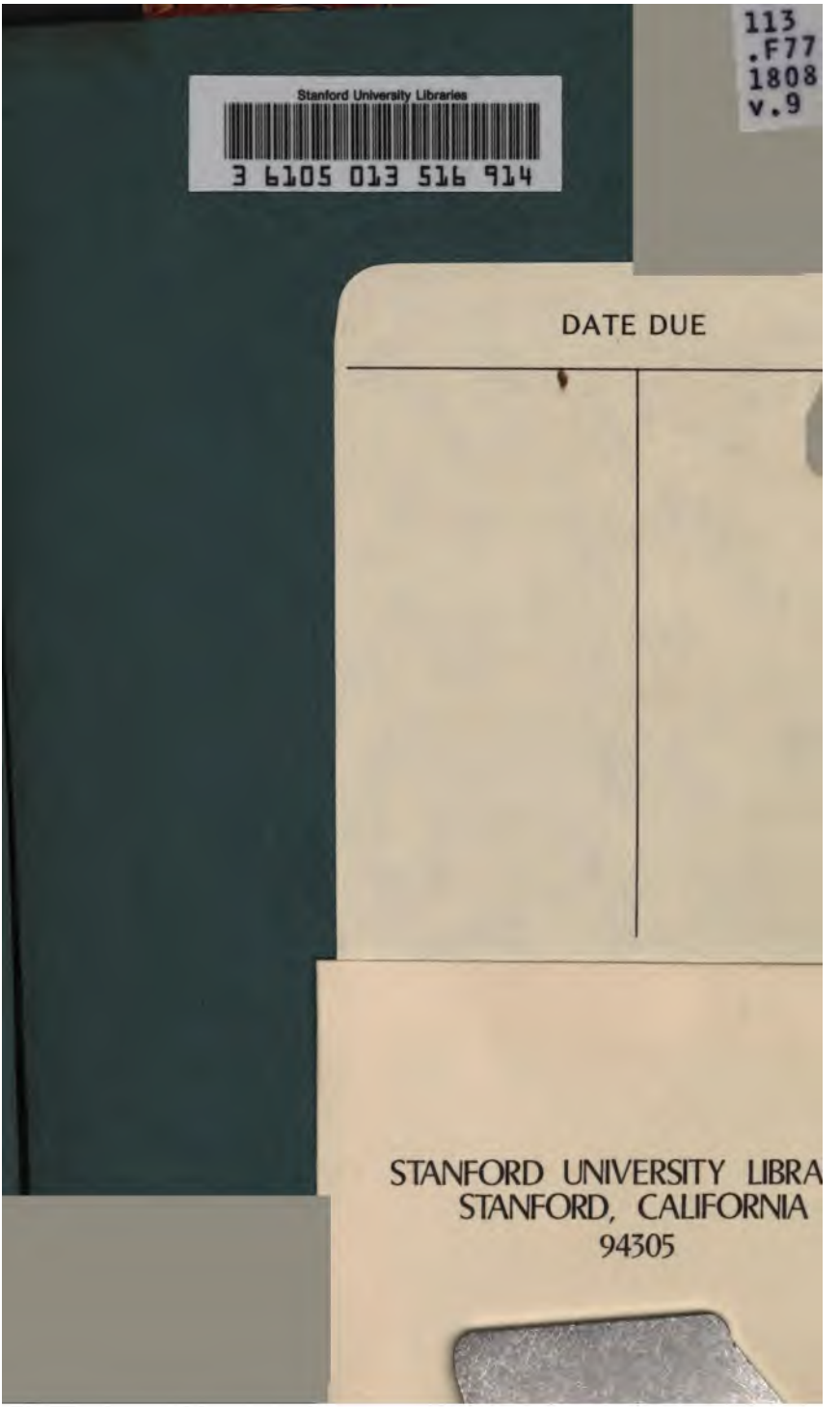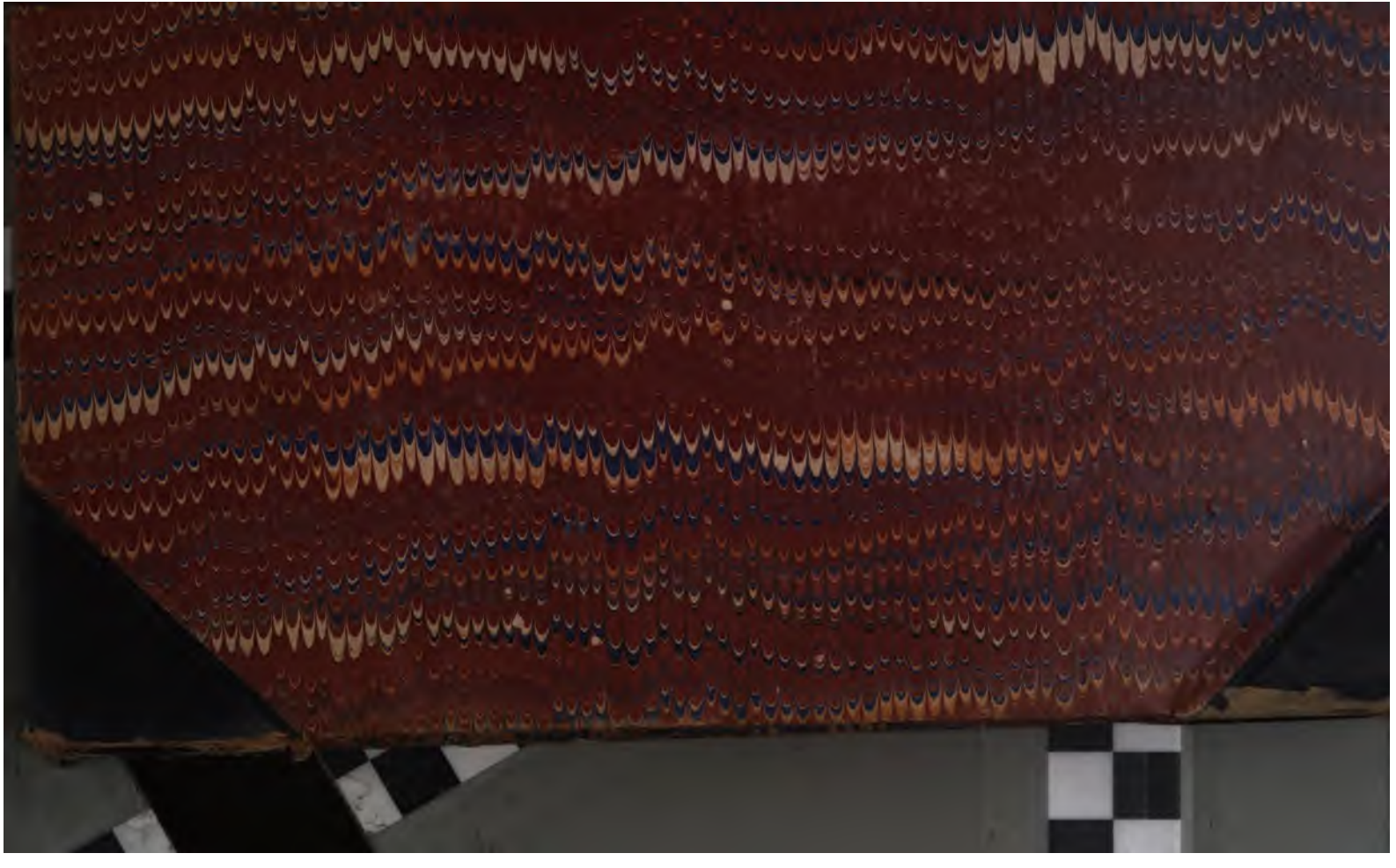
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